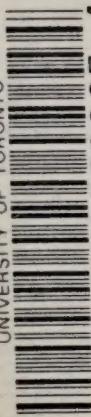


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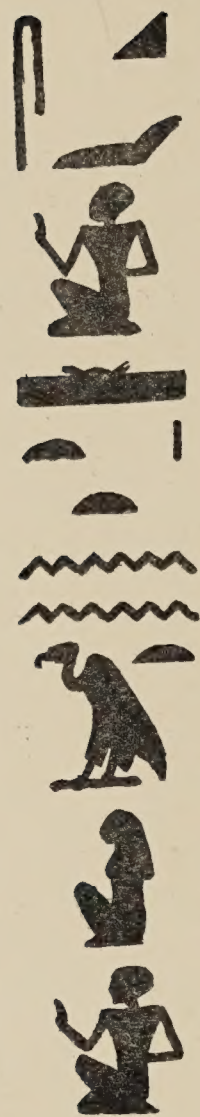


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KINGS AND QUEENS OF
ANCIENT EGYPT



KINGS AND QUEENS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

PORTRAITS BY WINIFRED BRUNTON

HISTORY BY EMINENT EGYPTOLOGISTS

FOREWORD BY PROFESSOR J. H. BREASTED

HODDER AND STOUGHTON
LIMITED LONDON



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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

BY TERENCE GRAY

I

RELATIVITY AND ART.

It is not as works of art that I would consider these pictures, but as works of intellect. Works of art, as such, probably need no introduction. It is because these studies of Egyptian kings have a significance other than that of their painting that I have been allowed to set down my thoughts concerning them.

Only in modern times has art been considered apart from its subject-matter. It is essentially a point of view of the present era that the subject-matter of a picture is of no importance. But these studies do not belong entirely to the art of the present day. Whether a living art-critic stands before them dumb with admiration or garrulous with condemnation is of little consequence if he has not perceived their full significance.

Unless the principles of relativity are applied to art-criticism there can be no just appreciation of art such as this. In the evolution of civilization each people has evolved its own form of art-expression. To judge an Egyptian statue by the standards of ancient Greece is as futile as to judge a Chinese Buddha by the standards of modern England. Each artist uses his medium to express a set of values which are instinct in his civilization, but which do not hold in that of the other. Before it is possible to arrive at an appreciation of one whose values are different from

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those at present in the ascendancy the critic must realize the position of his own reference-body in relation to the object he he would judge.

2

ART AND HISTORY.

The subject-matter of these pictures is history. They are historical portraits. Let it be stated with absolute finality the imaginative element in these studies begins exactly at the point at which history, as recorded on the monuments, ceases to supply sufficient information to enable a line to be completed. Otherwise they are as purely portraits as the work of any portrait-artist of to-day painting a living sitter. The history which they have as subject-matter is the history of old Egypt, and as such the work they represent is on the same plane as that of the scientists who record in scientific language the results of the archæological excavations in which they have been engaged. The one is an endeavour to re-create before the imagination an accurate vision of bygone life by means of word-pictures, the other by means of line and colour. They are the work of an Egyptologist who takes as her material all the existing contemporary portrait-statues and bas-reliefs of the historical personage she would re-create, and studying these in comparison with the mummy—when such exists—builds up the physical structure of the person to be represented. In that carefully conceived framework she expresses the personality of her subject in so far as it may be re-constructed from the historical records of his life, his features and expression in surviving portraits, and the total sum of available material bearing upon his nature. Those who know little of old Egypt and are unaware of the vast quantity of surviving material concerning these kings and queens have only to observe the vivid personality of each in his picture in order to realize how much knowledge is available to us owing to the monumental habits, the burial customs, and the climate of ancient Egypt.

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3

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF ART.

All these kings and queens we still have in contemporary portraiture, represented in the art-form of Egyptian statuary. Those who have come to understand the values which underlie that art-form, those in fact who have been able to realise the relative position of their own reference-body of art-values, and who, therefore, are qualified to judge of Egyptian art, are conscious of the masterly character and perhaps unapproachable perfection of the work of many of these ancient statues and fragments of statues. But just because the values underlying Egyptian art are different from those underlying our Greek-descended art, because these statues and bas-reliefs are often scattered, inaccessible, fragmentary, of varying mastery, for all these reasons these modern studies are of inestimable historical value. They represent the personality of the subject conceived, not from one but from all surviving sources, and expressed again vividly and with infinite skill in a manner which bears a closer relation to modern values and, therefore, brings before the modern mind the ancient personality in a manner which is readily understood.

4

EGYPTIAN ART.

These studies employ current methods of expression but they are also instinct with ancient values, if only on account of their subject-matter, and unless those ancient values are understood much of the significance of these pictures will be lost.

Egyptian art was essentially aristocratic art. It was never concerned either with art for its own sake or with the people as subject-matter for art. Egyptian art always expressed something beyond its own artistry. Ultimately it expressed a system of social values, an attitude towards life, a philosophy. Always the object of Egyptian art was the highest attainable manifestation of the type Man.

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In Egypt the king was a god. This must be understood literally. The king in Egypt was not the first servant of the State, he was not an hereditary president or a supreme pontiff or a military potentate. He must not be envisaged as a Roman emperor or a Teutonic chieftain. He was not the representative of God: he was God. He was a sacred being and he stood not only as a father, stern and loving, to his people, not merely as their protector, but they and their land and all living things were his own to make prosper or perish according to the beneficence or maleficence of the glance of his divine eye. He stood for perfection, he was the highest attainable achievement in human form.

He personified the supreme aspirations of his people, and as such he was throughout all history the chief subject of their art. Throughout the long stretch of thirty dynasties the artists of Egypt took the living form of their sovereign as the supreme subject-matter of their art, and using his living form as their medium, exercised their creative powers in seeking to render that form as expressive of perfect nobility as they were able, regardless of his age or accidental peculiarities.

It is this long succession of noble examples of humanity registered in stone that forms the main material from which these pictures have been created. But the concern of this modern artist has been, not to reproduce a medley of ancient statuary, but to get back to the original subject and re-express the historical actuality in modern terms. Therefore, it must have been necessary to retrace the steps taken by the mind of the original artists and make their subjects once more human beings.

5

KINGS IN EGYPT.

A very important factor must be taken into consideration, without which it will not readily be believed that the kings of Egypt here represented can really have been such transcendent

KINGS AND QUEENS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

human beings as they appear. Just as the king in Egypt was not merely a sovereign as we are accustomed to think of kings, so also he was not a man as we know men. We know men produced by a process of natural and miscellaneous selection ; men produced by any controlled method of breeding are outside our experience. But what such might be we are easily able to infer by looking at a thoroughbred race-horse and comparing him to an ordinary hackney. In Egypt the royal family was subjected to a process of inbreeding more intense than anything that is known to-day even among animals—outside the scientific laboratory. The variations of the intensity of this inbreeding through the ages cannot here be discussed, the evidence for it varies with the quantity of surviving historical material, but the general fact must be taken into careful consideration and it must be realised that the outstanding effect of such a process is one of intensification of the original qualities whether these be degenerate or regenerate. Here we are clearly concerned with cases in which the qualities of the original parents were regenerate, and in the long succession of their descendants we have before us a series of the noblest and most vital human faces that history has left in our hands.

6

THE PLACE OF THIS TYPE OF ART IN HISTORY.

Finally I would set down a few thoughts on the type of art-endeavour of which these pictures are such an outstanding and brilliant example. As can readily be seen we are here presented with something that bears no relation to most modern art-movements. Just as in technique there is nothing of the impressionistic striving, so there is nothing of the commonplace and the insignificant in subject-matter, which are features of the art of to-day. In its realism, in the intense expression of personality which is achieved through the carefully and fully moulded features,

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we are faced with something as far from present-day portraiture as the statuary of Egypt herself. In the choice of subject-matter and the depth of thought and philosophical significance behind each picture we are again obliged to look back down the centuries to find a basis of comparison. Ultimately we must undoubtedly go to Egypt, there alone shall we find the principles underlying this art-endeavour in their perfection, but it is not necessary to go further than the Renaissance to find the general type of art to which this belongs.

In the art of the Renaissance there was the same underlying principle: the vital and essential features of a human personality were seized and registered on canvas or in stone in the fullest and most intense manner in the artist's power so that not some passing mood nor fleeting impression was left but a representation of an aspect of his very soul, the vital essence of the man himself, that which differentiated him basically from his fellow-men. In the Renaissance the human beings so treated in art were selected for their personal interest and apart altogether from their inherent nobility. In Egypt it was the noblest alone that was so treated. This is the essential difference. In this matter the pictures here collected belong to the Egyptian type, perhaps owing to the necessity of their subject-matter, perhaps because the source of inspiration in the artist's mind is itself of the purer Idealism.

7

ART WHICH HAS A SIGNIFICANCE.

I have sought in these paragraphs to suggest that whatever ideas on the subject of art may be held by those having the privilege of examining these pictures it is necessary in order to appreciate them to realise that they represent an artistic striving that lies outside the range of contemplation of most contemporary artists. They are not studying a merely technical achievement. Gazing upon the portrayal of one of the royal personages herein,

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they have before them the representation of a human soul with its essential characteristics written upon its face, its immense nobility, all that it stands for as a vital and intense example of the type Man. They are also looking at the portrayal of a whole social system, an organisation of society and what such an organisation can produce. A philosophy of life is instinct in every one of these beings, all that they must stand for in the evolution of the human race. There is perhaps no branch of human knowledge and seeking for knowledge, no science or philosophy that is not concerned in each of these personalities. Properly understood they cannot fail to have a bearing upon the thought of any observer whatever the branch of science or philosophy to which he applies the lessons they carry written in their faces.

It is art such as this, surely, that counts in the evolution of the race, art that carries in its heart a message, art behind which lies a depth of meaning, of wisdom, of significance, art that is not merely a mood, a form, a passing shadow on a sunny day, but is, rather, redolent of the spirit of human destiny and pregnant with some eternal verity.

This art takes history as its subject. What can there be for art of this kind—save the Past or the Future? And it is in the application of the one to the other that the message of its achievement lies.

TERENCE GRAY

KHAFRA

KHAFRA

BY TERENCE GRAY

THE AGE OF KHAFRA

WHEN Khafra was king of Egypt stone had been in use for building for 150 years. Khasekhemui, the first king of the IIIrd dynasty, had been the first to build a tomb-chamber of hewn rock, and his son Zoser built the first pyramid.* By the end of the dynasty Sneferu had developed the use of stone into the achievement of the great pyramid at Meidum. This made possible the building of the greatest pyramid of all, the work of his successor Khufu, whose monument at Gizeh has been the wonder of mankind ever since. Khafra was his son.

Khafra belongs to a very early chapter in the history of civilisation. The picture of Ancient Egypt based on the mummies and tomb-paintings of the era of Rameses several millenia afterwards must necessarily be a false picture in which to visualise the personality of Khafra, for in his day were only the ungerminated seeds of these later luxuries and splendours.

Khafra built a temple of stone which still survives at Gizeh near his pyramid. In his day it was probably as great a marvel as it appears to us. It was one of the first temples of stone that had been built. It was made of vast cyclopean blocks of granite and has no sign of carving or decoration of any kind. This temple represents the age of Khafra, and the simplicity and grandeur of that age is as different from the profuse splendour of later time as the "Sphinx" temple is from the other temples in the Nile valley, for no other temple, nor any building save a tomb, survives from that age.

* Since this was written, the extensive colonnades which Firth has unearthed at Saqqara, built by Imhotep in the reign of Zoser, show that building in stone has a longer ancestry than was previously supposed.

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The reign of Khafra was the apex of the pyramid which represents the rise, apogee, and fall of the first culture of the dynastic Egyptians. Through the three preceding dynasties since the conquest and unification of the Nile Valley this first of known human cultures had slowly and cumulatively built itself up, evolving the arts generation by generation. Architecture came to birth in the service of religion and in the attempt to improve the conditions of the after-life of kings who by their achievements had been given by their subjects the status of gods. Sculpture was a development of architecture by which the counterpart in stone of a king might form the ultimate focus of worship in his funerary temple. Painting had not yet come to birth, but in the lifelike colouration of such images, soon to be extended in use to the carved walls of tomb-chambers, it was on the threshold of existence. Under Khafra these things, evolving uncertainly during the preceding centuries, burst suddenly into a glorious first blossoming whose virile simplicity and primitive untrammelled inspiration have left them from the lifetime of Khafra until to-day among mankind's most masterly artistic achievements. Of these works unquestionably the greatest that have survived are the portraits of King Khafra himself.

These portrait-statues were found in the cyclopean red-granite funerary temple of the king, near the second greatest of the pyramids which is his tomb, and which lies partly buried in the sand before the paws of the Sphinx which itself is probably his portrait and the largest human representation on earth. Originally they formed part of the architecture of the temple, in which the king was worshipped from the time of his death when he became a deity until the time of the XXVIth dynasty, about 600 B.C., after which we have no record. These statues are now in the Cairo Museum, and of all the works of mankind in carved or painted portraiture it is doubtful if any have ever more vividly, more majestically rendered in matter the vital essence of a human personality. We of this age know Khafra as a living being, we know his features and we know the mind which so vividly suffused

KHAFRA

them, and he is the first human being in the world's history whom we thus know.

THE CHARACTER OF KHAFRA.

Khafra was the second king of the IVth dynasty. The position of a king in a dynasty is of some importance in an endeavour to elucidate his character. Human beings in their broad aspects are largely moulded by their environment, and there are certain laws which are traceable in the evolution of families, according to the rise, apogee, and fall of their dynasty, all the world over.

The inaugurator of the great IVth dynasty was Khafra's father Khufu, and the founder of a dynasty is usually an innovator, a re-organiser, a conqueror, a potent, creative and vitalising force introducing a new era of human progress. We know too little of the details of his life to know Khufu intimately as a man, but we have one portrait of him, minute and damaged, and it suggests that of all the kings of the world he was perhaps the most dynamic and vital human being.

One must conceive of him as a ruler of titanic vigour, and his dynamic energy, which caused the achievement of the Great Pyramid in all its immensity of size and perfection of craftsmanship, is likely to have left a rich, settled and prosperous inheritance to Khafra, one that called for the rule of a just and unambitious administrator who should foster in peace the achievements of his predecessor rather than for the restless and creative spirit of the founder of a new dynasty.

We should not expect Khafra to have been such a man as his father, and his portraits show us clearly that he was not. Brought up during the re-organisation of the country by Khufu after the long, doubtless lax and corrupt, reign of Sneferu, he inherited a highly efficient and perfected administration and, like most inheritors of fortunes, created by a predecessor, he reaped the fruit of his father's achievement in glory and wealth.

The pyramid of Khafra, the second greatest of the pyramids, is in itself a stupendous achievement, but it seems less so to us, and in a sense justly, because it is less vast and less perfect, even

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though but a little, than that of Khufu, and it achieved what it did because Khufu's pyramid was there before it for Khafra unavailingly to seek to rival. That Khafra so nearly succeeded in achieving again the magnificence of that most magnificent of all human monuments is a fact of great significance, for never again was such an attempt to be essayed. Menkaura, the next important king, built a pyramid again near those of his predecessors, but admirable as it is in execution, beside them it is but as an ant-heap and seeks no rivalry with theirs, and it is clear that under no subsequent king were the conditions of the country ever again such as to make possible such an attempt.

The building of these pyramids, and the conditions under which they were achieved, have been misunderstood from the time of the Greek and Roman historians to the present day. Their building has been interpreted in terms applicable to the social conditions of the age of the writer rather than to the conditions in the Nile valley in the age in which they were created. They have been used as a convenient medium for democratic sentiment and sententious or indignant illustration of the sufferings of a down-trodden slave class and the tyranny of vainglorious kings. As a fact the pyramids were almost certainly not built by slaves but by the native population of the Nile valley during that season of each of a very great number of years when the inundation of the Nile rendered idle the entire agricultural community. During this period of idleness and homelessness drunkenness and starvation were an ever-present menace to the national prosperity, and it was clearly the duty of a great and powerful king, whose position with regard to his people was admittedly that of a god, so to organise and employ his subjects that they might be fed and cared for during that period of climatic abnormality, and to utilise their labour for national achievement and glory. In the days of Khufu and Khafra, Egypt had no rival nation in the world the danger of whose power might be broken by war of conquest, as was the case in the days of the New Empire, nor had civilisation and the arts of engineering advanced to the conception of vast projects of irrigation such as

KHAFRA

occupied the great kings of the XIIth dynasty, and by means of which they solved this same annual problem.

Consequently this magnificent achievement embodying all the science, the art, and the grandiose spirit of this early age, the building of the pyramids in all their mathematical perfection, vast immensity, and practical permanence, is to be considered as a most enlightened and nationally beneficial policy on the part of these kings who thus at once solved a problem of national emergency and created for themselves an enduring personal monument and an apparently inviolable sepulchre. For the pyramids are a monument to the very real greatness of these kings, to the greatness of spirit of the age in which they lived, and to the greatness of the people over whom they ruled.

Thus it is that the circumstance of Khafra's position in his dynasty as the successor of Khufu and the inheritor of his father's creative life-work—an ordered and wealthy kingdom—the evidence of his surviving monuments, and the portrait-statues of the man himself combine in giving us a vision of Khafra as a wise, calm being, born to a secure and assured kingship, and administering his great inheritance with strong, unhesitating, imaginative justice. Egypt had no rival among the nations of that day, alone like a gigantic pyramid rising out of the desert the fertile valley of the Nile had thrust up into the heavens a culture and a civilisation hitherto unknown on earth, and the sole ruler of that civilisation was Khafra to whose ancestors this achievement was due. The ordering of this immense creation was his alone and his power over it was absolute and supreme. Probably never before nor since has power so untrammelled been vested in any human being, for never before had the exercise of such power been possible, and mankind had not yet learned that its possession could be dangerous and so seek to impose limits on its attainment. By the original centreing of power in the hands of their early kings had the dynastic Egyptians achieved this culture and prosperity, and now that it had come to fulness and fruition it was still held unfettered by the king of Egypt. We are led to understand that every man and

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every beast in the Nile valley, even as the land itself, was regarded as the personal property of the king to do with as he willed, and we know that there was rendered to him divine honours and that in his funerary temple he was worshipped as a god for three thousand years.

Such a superhuman position as this was the inheritance to which Khafra was reared and which he entered into and held for more than half a century. And the face and figure of Khafra in his masterly portrait-statues are the face and figure of just such an exalted being as we should expect. His calm, unconscious, unapproachable dignity is that of a man so unassailably exalted that the greatest of his subjects could only approach his presence on his belly and with head bowed down to the earth. His attitude is of one who had never in his earthly life had cause even to imagine the gainsaying of his lightest word. In his features can be read the immense responsibility to bear which was the reason of his existence. In his calm, untroubled gaze can be seen the unquestioned consciousness that he had inevitably and by nature and in his every action done what was divinely right, fostering the marvellous flavouring of culture which occurred under his wise rule and which has lived to this day an amazement to mankind and an example followed, extended and amplified, but never directly surpassed. The strength which is instinct in every line of his face and body is that of one for whom there could not exist the temptation or possibility of weakness, and there is in those majestic features and calm dreamy eyes a mysterious spirit, an other-worldly insight, a secret inner life the extent and significance of which is not to be conjured into words but may be caught a little and represented in a modern rendering of that strange face by the insight and inspiration of an artist.

TERENCE GRAY

PEPY I



Pepy I.

Page 1



MERIRE PEPY I

BY WINIFRED BRUNTON

EACH of the great dynasties of Egypt produced one monarch who was the flower of his time—the embodiment of the spirit of the period. He forms the height of the curve of energy of his line, a height which usually comes early in the curve.

In the Sixth Dynasty the third king is the height of the curve. First comes Teta, then Ati-Userkere and then Merire Pepy I. He reigned for at least fifty years. Of this great personality most of our knowledge comes from the tombs of two of his great nobles, Una and Herkhuf. These princes of the South Country, in their autobiographical inscriptions bear ample witness to the ability and energy of the king, their master and friend.

An idea of the character of Pepy I can only be arrived at by piecing together this information and deducing therefrom. His strength and vigour appear at once. Personal magnetism too, and the power to win love and loyalty from his subjects. Whether he was a far-sighted ruler we may doubt. During the fourth and fifth dynasties the government had been absolutely centralized in the person of the king—the king *was* the government and the country and everything in it his personal property. In Pepy I's reign we see the shoots of that tree which blossomed in disaster during the next four short-lived dynasties: I mean the gradual abrogation of the royal power to the nobles.

Egypt was for the first time a feudal state in the sixth dynasty; the high title Erpati-hati-a, hereditary prince, then first appeared. Great nobles were these bearing this title, ruling the various nomes by right of descent. They were buried on their own great estates, not, as in former times, around the tomb of the king

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they served. The feudal state worked well under a vigorous ruler who was able to command at once the respect and love of the powerful nomarchs, but under his feebler successors jealousies and rivalries arose which by degrees pulled down the state.

We may suppose that Pepy had that most valuable quality in a commander—the ability to choose the right man for a job. Una and Herkhuf were, according to themselves at least, brilliantly successful in the varied tasks, administrative or military, set them, and the achievements of this reign cannot have been accomplished without many more able lieutenants.

That Pepy had self-control and restraint may be inferred from the fact that he made one of his princes (Una) judge in a private affair concerning the Queen's honour, rather than trust to his own perhaps less impartial judgment. Pepy, like other monarchs, had his private troubles, and a glimpse into his personal affairs is given us by the tomb inscription of Una, who says proudly "I was entrusted alone with a secret matter concerning the honour of the royal wife, Amtas, when legal proceedings were instituted *in camerâ* in the harîm."

There are several cases on record of plots hatched in the harîm against the king. We know of one such conspiracy in the twelfth dynasty, and of another in the twentieth. This may have been a similar instance.

Pepy's personal appearance is known to us from the magnificent life-sized bronze statue discovered by Mr. Quibell at Hierakonpolis. It represents Pepy as a young man, probably very soon after his accession. The metal of which the statue is composed consists of 58·5 per cent. copper, 6·557 per cent. tin and 34 per cent. carbonate of copper, and it is likely that it is one of the natural copper alloys such as were used for vessels at this period. When found buried in the temple debris the figure was in several pieces, the beaten plates composing it lying heaped together, and inside the body-plates was the smaller statue now shown beside it in the Cairo Museum. The whole has been skilfully restored, and shows the king, tall and broad-shouldered, in the usual formal



*Head of the Bronze Statue of
Pepy I.*

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they served. The feudal state worked well under a vigorous monarch who was able to command at once the respect and love of his subjects, but under his feeble successors jealousies and dissensions arose which by degrees pulled down the state.

We may suppose that Pepy had that most valuable quality in a monarch, the ability to choose the right man for a job. He must have been, at least, brilliantly successful in the civil, administrative or military, set them, and the government of this reign must have been accomplished with or many more able lieutenants.

That Pepy had self-control and wisdom may be inferred from the fact that he made one of his princes (Uhat) judge in a private office concerning the king's business, rather than trust to his own suggestions. The king's private affairs is given in the text as follows: "I was concerned about the honour of the king and the king's proceedings were instituted in the king's name."

Pepy's reign was marked by a great conspiracy in the harim, the king's harem, and of course in the government. This may have been a serious matter.

Pepy's tomb is a magnificent structure, the magnificence of which is described by Herodotus. It is probably very soon after the death of Pepy that the tomb is composed of 34 per cent.

of the natural stone. When the king died, his body was placed in a wooden coffin, and inside the coffin was placed a golden mask. It is in the tomb, and stored, and the king's body was placed in the formal

Kind of the Brass
Pepy I



MERIRE PEPY I

attitude, erect, left leg well advanced as if striding forward, and the left arm bent to hold a long staff, which, like the crown, kilt and girdle (all perhaps of precious metal) have disappeared. The eyes are inlaid, of obsidian and white limestone, and have a wonderful effect of intent vision. That Pepy was energetic we know from the evidence of the monuments, but if they gave us no information we should guess it from his face. The set of the eyes, the spring and jut of the big nose, the full yet very firm lips, the carriage of the head with the brow a little forward ; all these show the man of action, but a man who thinks before he acts, one of decision and tenacity.

It has been supposed that the smaller statue represents the King as a youth. Wooden statues of this period were found by Petrie at Sedment, representing a certain noble at three different ages. But the keen expression and fine hawk-nose of Pepy are so distinct from the commonplace features and fat nose of the smaller statue that one feels it impossible that the two bronzes should be portraits of the same individual, with every allowance for the difference in age. Again, the technique of both is so similar that surely they are both by the same hand, and both portraits are evidently made from a study of the living subject.

Pepy I was one of the great builder-kings of Egypt and nearly every sanctuary in the country owes something to his activities. He was the first king to make really extensive use of the granite of Assuan, where the quarries, started by Den of the first dynasty, began under Pepy to yield the great output kept up with varying intensity through the centuries right up to Roman times.

Among the works of Pepy were an obelisk at Heliopolis and the Temple of Hathor at Denderah, which latter he is said to have founded. He restored the Temple of Sneferu and re-built the Temple of Abydos. Unlike the kings of a later age who usurped or pulled down the works of their predecessors to add to their own glory, Pepy revered the past and was anxious that its records should not pass into oblivion. His activity is also shown as a

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builder at Koptos, Hierakonpolis, Elephantine and even Nubia.

It seems that the military campaigns of this reign were not led by the king in person. Una tells us that he was sent on an expedition against the Heriu-sha. These were perhaps the tribes of the north-west littoral of Egypt. He says : "I assembled an army of many ten-thousands from all parts of the realm." This of course could not be done all in a moment, and suggests a regular organization for levying troops. Una repeated his punitive expedition several times in the course of his career each time with resounding success. But as we know of no great nation in that part of the world at this time, it looks as if these expeditions were not such great affairs as Una would have us believe. However that may be, this Una seems to have been a man after the pattern of his royal master—an untiring organizer and driver of men.

To Herkhuf was given command of expeditions to Nubia. These were not intended actually to conquer the country, but were more in the nature of showy excursions, to impress the Nubian chiefs, to ensure a regular supply of tribute and to keep safe the southern boundary of Egypt.

There seems to have been the beginning of a sort of centrifugal impulse at this time. These expeditions to outside countries, extending in the reign of Pepy II to the famous expedition to Punt, are one of the symptoms, just as the loosening of the texture of government is another.

We know little more than the bare facts of Pepy I's family history. He was presumably the son of Ati. He married early, as everyone, especially heirs to the throne, did in those days. His first queen was Amtas, who may have been the mother of the prince represented by the smaller bronze statue. At any rate this prince did not succeed his father, nor any sons of the lady Amtas. What became of her after her trial and judgment by Una we do not know. But we know that Pepy I, when about 60 years old, married a lady named Pepi-ankh-nes or Merire-ankh-nes. Her name is occasionally found inscribed on alabaster presentation

MERIRE PEPY I

vases. It was the custom for children of high birth to compound in their names the name of the king in whose reign they were born. It is evident then that this queen was born during the reign of her consort. She gave him two sons. The elder, Merenre, succeeded his father but died after a reign of only four years. This was a misfortune for Egypt, as it seems from Una's inscription that Merenre had much of his father Pepy's energy and driving-power. At any rate he worked Una, now a very old man, so hard that he probably died of the strain.

To Merenre succeeded Pepy II, his baby brother. Pepy II was only six years old when he began to reign and he reigned 94 years. He had the longest reign known to history but has otherwise small claim to fame. His long minority and apparently easy-going character gave the hereditary nomarchs too much scope and the condition of Egypt went rapidly down hill.

Both Merenre and Pepy II were buried at Sakkara near the tomb of their great father. There followed them Merenre II, Neterkare and Menkare, of whom we know little more than the names. With Menkare the Sixth dynasty came to an end, after a duration of about 150 years.

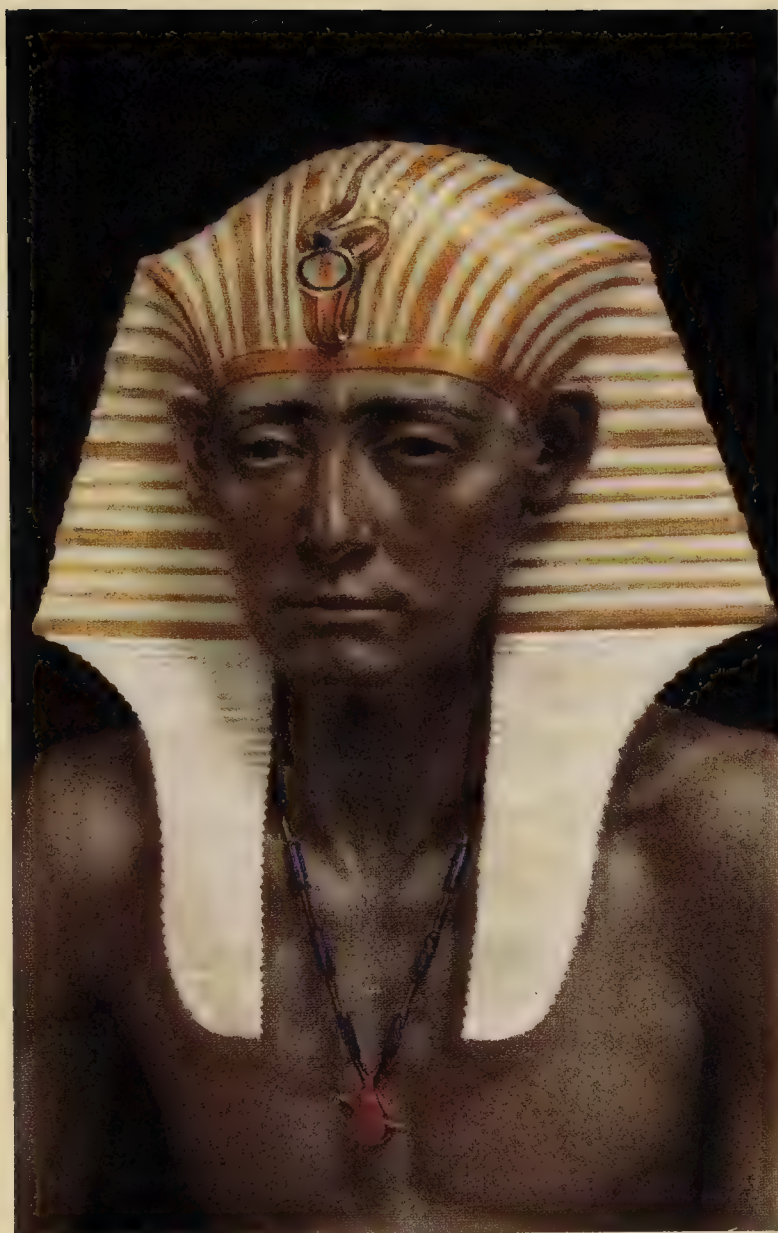
WINIFRED BRUNTON

AMENEMHAT III



Amenemhat III.

Amenshat III.



AMENEMHAT III (1849-1801 B.C.)

BY GUY BRUNTON

AMENEMHAT III is one of the great figures of Egyptian history. Many circumstances combined to render his reign remarkable and the outstanding feature of the XIIth dynasty. First, he had inherited from a line of energetic, forceful, far-seeing monarchs the type of mind and character which could conceive great schemes, organise their development, and carry them to a successful conclusion. Next the length of his reign, 48 years, permitted the same master-hand to direct his projects from inception to fulfilment. And lastly, there were no wars abroad, nor political troubles at home to distract him from his work for the good of his country. Egypt has rarely, if ever, been blessed by such an opportunity, so well made use of.

We infer that Amenemhat was the son of his predecessor Senusert III. There is the strong family likeness, and no evidence to the contrary. If, as is possible, the successor of a king was chosen from the sons born during the actual reign, Amenemhat might have been some 30 years of age at his accession. Following the time-honoured practice, he was associated with his father on the throne at a time, perhaps, when advancing years made help desirable. His accession to sovereignty was at the same time legalised by his marriage with the heiress, generally a half-sister by a different mother. In this case we do not know her name for certain: she was possibly "the Royal Wife Aat, Consort of the White Crown," who is the only queen we hear of during the reign. There is some evidence that she was a daughter of Senusert III. We know of another lady of the court "the Royal Daughter Sat-Hathor-Iunut," the king's aunt or cousin. Her

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beautiful jewellery, now in the Cairo and New York Museums, was given her partly by the king, and partly by her father Senusert II.

Inscriptions proclaiming the coronation in the customary formula, which continued in use into the XVIIIth dynasty, were set up in the temples. Fragments of one are known from the temple of Sebek at Crocodilopolis in the Fayûm. The titles adopted by the king at his coronation are as follows, according to the tentative translation of Battiscombe Gunn.

1. Horus: "Great in Will."
2. He of the Two Goddesses: "Bearer of the Heritage of the Two Lands."
3. Golden Horus: "Enduring in Life."
4. King of Upper and Lower Egypt: "Truth is of Rē"
5. Son of Rē: "Amūn is First."

So far the nominal capital of the country had been Thebes. The name Amenemhat "the God Amen is in front," taken by the founder of the family suggests that its power was based on the priesthood of Karnak. We see the beginnings of that influence which was eventually, in the XXIst dynasty, to take the place of the royal house itself. But Amenemhat III, a strong and independent monarch, able to stand alone, preferred to base his government in that part of the country where his activities and interests were greatest. This was in the Fayûm province: and it is with his works here that his name will be for ever associated. The crocodile-god Sebek became prominent: Amenemhat's daughter-heiress is named Sebek-neferu, "the beauties of Sebek"; and many kings of the next dynasty are named Sebek-hetep.

The government of the country was now directed from this province. At the entrance to the lake district of the Fayûm, near what is now the modern village of Hawara, the king erected his pyramid; and immediately adjacent was built the vast structure, called "the Labyrinth" by Greek writers. This vast building was a maze of halls and chambers, partly above ground, partly below. Herodotos says there were 3,000 rooms, besides the

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pillared courts. It served for the adoration of Amenemhat after death and for the worship of the sacred crocodiles. Each nome or administrative division of the country had here a shrine or temple for its own local god, and probably a suite of offices for carrying on the business of its government. We here see how the policy of the dynasty had developed. At its beginning Egypt had been a country divided into feudal principalities, the lords of each nome having almost kingly powers. At its end Amenemhat was practically an autocrat, and sufficiently powerful to centralise all the various local governments. When his firm hand was withdrawn, the country rapidly fell into a state of confusion, though kings still made a show of their nominal power.

Amenemhat, however, though concentrating as much authority as possible in his own hands, was wise enough to use it for the benefit of his kingdom. His relations with the neighbouring states were uniformly friendly. We know of no wars of any consequence. Even in his father's reign we read of expeditions to the south only, with the object no doubt of keeping open trade-routes and exacting arrears of tribute. The king's hold over Nubia was permanently secured by the building of forts near the Second Cataract, and Amenemhat apparently only had to make one display of power in this region. In his second year his officer Amenemhat refers to "the smiting of the Negro" in the usual bombastic style. This was perhaps just a parade on the occasion of his taking up the reins of power. We hear later of the "roads of Wawat," an expression suggesting caravan routes.

On the West all was quiet; while to the East, in the Sinai region, the only suggestion of trouble is in the design of a pectoral given by the king to his relative Princess Meryt. This shows the king smiting Mentiu or Bedawîn with his mace, while he grasps their long hair. Amenemhat had uninterrupted occupation of the mines in the peninsula, for inscriptions at Sarbût-el-Khadem and Wady Maghara are dated from his second to his forty-fifth year. These record expeditions to mine turquoise and malachite. We read how the officials boasted of their success in opening up new

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veins. They lay special stress on the health of their working parties, sometimes over 700 strong, in spite of water difficulties; and record how they returned to Egypt without loss of life in spite of the intense heat.

In Syria the only fighting recorded during the whole dynasty occurred in the reign of Senusert III, when a skirmish took place somewhere in Retenu, probably the chastisement of a quarrelsome neighbour. We know how the Egyptians lived on friendly terms with the Syrians from the tale of Sanehat; and the recent discoveries at Byblos give clear proof that Amenemhat III was on intimate terms with the princes of that place. Gifts were exchanged, and perhaps Egyptian princesses given in marriage.

It is easily seen then how political conditions both at home and abroad gave Amenemhat a free hand to carry out his grandiose schemes for the benefit of his people. From all time Egypt has supported a large population for its size owing to the fertility of its soil. This is entirely due to the annual inundations of the Nile, which deposits a layer of rich mud over the ground covered by the flood. But owing to the absence or scantiness of the rainfall in more recent historic times, irrigation is everywhere necessary, and this depends partly on contrivances such as canals for carrying water to the fields, and also, primarily, to the level of the Nile at the various seasons.

The Fayûm basin to the West of the Nile Valley is one of the many oases in the Libyan desert, but the only one actually connected with the river. The surface of the Fayûm lake is now 150 feet below the valley level, and the waters of the inundation consequently flowed into it through the connecting gap, where the present town of Lahun stands. The reclamation of ground from the lake was begun by the first kings of the dynasty. This was in the region where the inflowing Nile was forming a delta of alluvial silt. But it was Amenemhat III who extended the dykes to a length of some 27 miles, and reclaimed for cultivation an area of 27,000 acres. Here stood the town of Crocodilopolis, the present Medineh, which has always been the capital of the

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Fayûm province.

It is possible that in addition to these reclamation works, the control of the flood waters entering into the lake was undertaken. Whether any attention had been given to this before the time of the XIIth dynasty is unknown. But Senusert II, Amenemhat's uncle or grandfather, was the first of the family to be buried in the district. His pyramid is at the end of the great dyke, stretching across the arm of the valley; and it is suggested that he at least laid its foundations. Senusert III gave little attention to the locality, and it was left to Amenemhat to complete the work. The dyke still stands, running from desert edge to desert edge. The sluice-gates are of course modern. It has often been stated that the flood waters were prevented from flowing *out* of the Fayûm; there is, however, no evidence of this. It was Upper Egypt and not Lower Egypt which was ever in need of additional supplies. It was not possible by this means to guard against excessive inundation, as the Fayûm could only take flood waters above the rocky bar in the bed of the Bahr el Yusef. The construction of the ancient banks still to be seen at Lahun shows their purpose was to *exclude* water. And the great difference in soil level east and west of the banks also shows this.

To-day the amount of water in the upper reaches of the Nile is carefully recorded from day to day, and information telegraphed to Egypt for the use of the irrigation engineers. Such a system of records was commenced by Amenemhat, whose officials at the Second Cataract inscribed on the rocks there the level reached by the flood water from year to year. The flood water, however, only takes eight days to travel from Wady Halfa to Lahun. The purpose of these records was more probably for the determination of the taxes to be paid by the high lands of Upper Egypt, as unless certain levels were reached certain lands would be not taxable. This arrangement rules now and has done so for many hundreds of years.*

* I am indebted to Mr. H. F. Ayres, of the Egyptian Irrigation Department, for the above information with regard to flood levels in general.

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We can see then how the country as a whole, and the Fayûm province in particular benefited by the energy and foresight of Amenemhat. In later years the memory of his activities remained, though the Greek authors give us somewhat confused accounts. The tale was that he excavated and formed Lake Moeris as a reservoir for the surplus Nile waters; but we know that the actual lake is a natural depression only. Professor Breasted has translated the composition of an Egyptian of the time which gives us some idea how his subjects regarded the king who had given them peace and plenty for so long. "He illuminates the Two Lands more than the disk of the Sun. He makes the Two Lands green more than a great Nile. He has filled the Two Lands with strength. He is life, cooling the nostrils The king is food, his mouth is increase . . . Fight for his name, purify yourselves by his oath, and ye shall be free from trouble, the beloved of the king shall be blessed."

The Fayûm works were no doubt Amenemhat's chief enterprise; but additions were made to the temples throughout the land. Very little is known of these buildings owing to the great reconstructions and additions by the kings of the XVIIIth dynasty. But records are to be seen in the quarries giving the accounts of works done by his officers of state. Thus we read how the fine white limestone was worked at Turrah, and black basalt at Hammamat, where the temple of Sebek at Crocodilopolis and ten seated statues, five cubits high, are specifically mentioned. Of actual buildings outside the Fayûm there are remains of Memphis, Heracleopolis, and El Kab only. Many temples however were enriched with statues which have survived, as at Karnak. At Tanis, the great centre in the Eastern Delta, there have been found monuments of most other kings of the dynasty, but not of Amenemhat III, unless we attribute to him the so-called "Hyksos" sphinxes.

This raises the vexed question of the facial types of the XIIth dynasty family. A discussion would be out of place here; but the facts seem to be as follows: the earlier kings to judge from

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the statues and reliefs that we have, show nothing of a foreign type, down to Senusert II. In this reign, however, we meet with Queen Nefert, whose statues show her to be un-Egyptian. This suggests that marriages with foreign royal houses were encouraged by the kings of Egypt, who thus cemented the alliance of neighbouring peoples. This policy was a favourite one in the latter part of the XVIIIth and in the XIXth dynasty, when Syrian princesses were married to Egyptian kings, and vice versa. Senusert III shows this strange cast of face very strongly, and Amenemhat III was evidently of the same strain. The Tanis sphinxes show the type in its most marked form, and are considered by many to be portraits of our king. The principal statues so far discovered are the young Amenemhat, from Hawara, now at Cairo; three others at Cairo, of which two are from Karnak; the head and the walking statue from Memphis at Berlin; the seated statuette at Petrograd; the serpentine head belonging to Mr. Oscar Raphael; and the magnificent obsidian head now in Australia. As some of these do not actually bear the name of the king, we have only the likeness by which to identify them; and some would prefer to see in them a likeness of Senusert III. But this is not the opinion of the majority. It must be borne in mind that though certain traits are not pronounced in youth, they may still be very noticeable in old age. Thus the sandstone statue in Cairo from Hawara shows us Amenemhat in the early part of his reign; while the obsidian statuette, lately in the MacGregor Collection, represents the king shortly before his death. Allowing for this, we can then realise what true portraits these wonderful statues are, and it is from a combination of these that the artist of this miniature has built up her living representation of the king in his later years, showing him as a severe, but just, sovereign, one whom affairs of state had rendered thoughtful, even a trifle gloomy: and whose soul was embittered by some disappointment or disillusionment on which it brooded always.

What this may have been we can only guess. Family troubles he may have had: his favourite daughter, Ptah-neferu, died during

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his reign, and was laid to rest in the king's own burial chamber under his pyramid at Hawara, at the side of his own sarcophagus, a very unusual proceeding. His co-regent Hor, who, after years of training, was at length associated with him on the throne, probably died shortly afterwards, and had to be replaced by the Amenemhat who was to be sole king a few years later. We know of nothing otherwise in events either at home or abroad which could have caused him bitterness; but it is just possible that he may have foreseen how the westward movement of Asiatic peoples was threatening his beloved land. None of his family showed the capacity necessary to suppress the local jealousies which were constantly smouldering in Egypt. The South, once a firm hand was withdrawn, was always ready to rebel and to invade. Past history had shown how a disunited Egypt quickly became the prey of foreigners. Amenemhat may well have been haunted by thoughts of the future, when his works would be destroyed, and his country once more plunged in misery and blood.

Amenemhat's reign makes a dynastic climax much like the long 95 years' rule of Pepy II at the end of the powerful VIth dynasty, which was followed by a period of confusion. Another parallel is the reign of Amenhetep III at the end of the XVIIIth dynasty, when Egypt, prosperous with the results of Empire building, became enervated and a prey to religious fanaticism.

In addition to the pyramid at Hawara, adjoining the great "Labyrinth," another had been built for the king at Dahshur in the Nile Valley, near those of some of his predecessors. This was of brick, cased with fine white stone, and capped by a magnificent block of black granite inscribed with his titles and with religious formulae of solar worship. This was not used for his actual interment, but possibly for that of his *ka*. The tombs of the co-regent King Hor and his Queen Nub-hetep-ta-khredet were found within the enclosure wall. It was at Hawara that Amenemhat finally rested from his labours, lying by the side of his daughter Ptah-neferu, whose loss he had never ceased to mourn. Knowing well the fate that attended royal burials in

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Egypt, Amenemhat's architects had planned a wonderful series of contrivances to baffle robbers. But deep wells, blind corridors filled with blocks, secret trap-doors, and mighty stone port-cullises were all alike useless. During the disorganisation which followed the fall of the dynasty, the guards were withdrawn, or joined forces with the plunderers. Every safeguard was surmounted. The robbers reaped their golden harvest, and smashed and burnt what they could not carry off. When opened in recent years, the sepulchre, made of one block of glassy quartzite, was found to be almost filled with foul and brackish water. In it, beside the sarcophagi, were an offering-table of alabaster, some chips of the precious stone inlay from the coffins, and a few scraps of calcined bone, the only remnants of what had once been one of the noblest and best rulers of Egypt.

GUY BRUNTON

QUEEN TETISHERI

Queen Tetisheri

100 (10)

QUEEN TETISHERI
(ABOUT 1640-1570 B.C.)

BY H. E. WINLOCK

THE great Pharaohs of the early times lay forgotten in their pyramids, when unexpectedly there had come out of the East men of obscure race who had had the temerity to invade Egypt, burning the cities savagely and sacking the temples of the gods. Then had Egypt fallen into dire affliction and from Avaris these "Hyksos" held the entire land tributary, overturning the ancient order and ruling without Re, for they had taken Setekh as their lord, and did not serve any other god of all the gods of Egypt.

Such is the description given by the ancient chronicles of the evil times when the Honorable Tenna and the Lady Neferu married their daughter Little Teti—Teti-sheri—to Ta'o, the Prince of Thebes. We may imagine to what a poor little court it was that she was brought in the beggared, provincial city which had become the last stronghold of the defeated Egyptians. Refugees from the northern river towns had flocked there, devotedly keeping alive the memories of their ravaged cities; the exiles from Hermopolis, the last town to fall, still naming their children after Thoth and Ah, the gods of their home. Thebes was their last asylum, insecure though it was under the protection of an obscure line of princes whose poverty was so degrading that they could leave behind them only a shadow of their existences.

The King Ta'o, to whom Tetisheri was married, is therefore merely a name to us. The most that we can say of him is that she bore him children—at least a son Ta'o, later called "the Brave," and a daughter Ahhotep, named after some Hermopolitan relative. The throne of Thebes was held only precariously in those days. No

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king of the line seems to have held it for more than a very brief period and it was the wise course therefore to unite in marriage these two young children who were to inherit it. Thus Tetisheri must have found herself a grandmother when she was still in her early thirties. First came a little prince Ahmose, followed, before he died an infant, by two girls, Ahmose called Nefretiri and Ahmose the Little. Afterwards at least two more boys were born, Kamose and still another Ahmose, this last under some favourable star that guided him to become one of the greatest heroes of his nation.

Life at the little Theban court went on with no outstanding incidents, so far as we know. Tetisheri, a grandmother while she was still young, was soon a widow as well, but she succeeded in placing safely on the throne her youthful son Ta^o, under the name of King Sekenenre^c, with his sister Ahhotep as his consort, and while her children were still young she must have been busy advising them in the devious politics of a principality with enemies on either hand. In the folk tales of later ages her son was the hero with whom the evil Apophis, King in Avaris, picked a quarrel on the pretext that the roaring of hippopotami at Thebes made the nights hideous in the distant Delta. In the story Sekenenre^c seems to have escaped from the dilemma by some clever and whimsical ruse, but in the troubles of actual life no such obvious way out of the difficulties could have presented itself. The Hyksos were threatening to pass up river from Hermopolis and war was in the air even if it had not already broken out.

Thebes was beset by enemies up and down the river when a grim tragedy nearly wrecked its independence. Before Tetisheri was scarcely more than fifty her thirty year old son, King Sekenenre^c was violently done to death. He may have been at the front at war with the barbarians, but more probably he fell a victim of some palace intrigue born of the unsettled times. His enemies caught him unawares, either sneaking up behind him and felling him before he could raise a hand in his own defence, or still more likely, falling upon him in his sleep. They battered and hacked him where he lay until life was extinct and then hastily bundled his mangled

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corpse up in its grave clothes and rushed it off to the tomb without even making an attempt to straighten out his agonized limbs.

The boy Kamose was set upon the throne made vacant by his father's violent death and Tetisheri now found herself guiding the third generation of rulers in her family. And she needed all of her experience, for the final storm of the Hyksos invasion was breaking.

Three years after Sekenenre's death young King Kamose "spoke in his palace to the council of grandees who were in his suite. 'To what purpose is this power of mine,' he exclaimed, 'when one chieftain is in Avaris and another in Nubia, and I sit between an Asiatic and a Negro, each holding his slice of the Black Land. I cannot reach Memphis, for they hold Hermopolis, and no man rests, so wasted are we through servitude to the barbarians. I shall grapple with them and rip open their bellies. My desire is to deliver Egypt and to smite the Asiatics.'

"Then the grandees of his council replied, 'True, the Asiatics have advanced as far as Cusae, and have stuck out their tongues at us, but we are secure in possession of our part of Egypt. Elephantine is strong and the midland is with us as far as Cusae. Men till for us the finest of their land and our cattle graze in the marshes. They hold the land of the Asiatics and we hold Egypt. If anyone attacks us, then it will be time to oppose them.' "

But these pusillanimous councils were displeasing to the young king, and he overrode them, raised the levies, attacked the enemy, recaptured Cusae and pushed the war beyond Hermopolis into the enemy territory where the stronghold of Nefrusi fell to his troops.

Naturally we have no direct evidence of Tetisheri's share in this pregnant decision to disregard the supine counsellors and to take the offensive. However, it is not impossible that she had a good deal to do with it. Woman's position was peculiarly influential in ancient Egypt. Through her passed inheritance; her son was known more often from her name than from his father's, and his right to the headship of a family was only complete after he was married to a sister whose children might dispute it. When we add to this strong influence which by custom belonged to the old

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dowager Tetisheri the fact that Kamose was a mere youth and that his grandmother had already experienced two reigns of her house in Thebes, we must conclude that she would have raised her voice on a question of such import, and would have insisted on being heard.

Once joined, the struggle probably continued without interruption even when Kamose came to an early end. Ahmose, the youngest of Ahhotep's brood, was married to his older sister Nefretiri and put into Kamose's place, and the war carried on. The bloated power of the barbarians burst like a pricked bubble. Memphis fell, Avaris was sacked ; the Hyksos were pursued into Palestine and then scattered to the four winds when their last stronghold fell after a three years siege.

Tetisheri had lived to see Thebes transformed from a little provincial court into the capital of a great empire. She had seen the wealth of the defeated divided among her countrymen. When the soldiers received their grants of land, she and her granddaughters were given estates in the conquered Northland, and part of the Administrator's accounts for a farm of hers near Memphis and another belonging to Kamose's daughter, exist to-day in Cairo. The Theban temples likewise were enriched and at the restoration of the shrine of Montu she stood as the mother of the royal family beside the young King Ahmose during the dedication ceremony.

Soon after, the old lady passed away—some time between 1580 and 1570 B.C.—fully sixty or seventy years old. When she was laid in her tomb in the Theban hills, one of her faithful retainers, the Overseer Senseneb, placed in her chapel a pair of delightful little statues that "her name might live forever," picturing her as the charming young person she must have been when she married the now forgotten Ta'o the Elder. One of them, which forms the basis for Mrs. Brunton's portrait, has found its way to the British Museum, and the other, sadly broken, is in the French Institute in Cairo.

Ahmose never forgot the memory of the grandmother who had directed the destinies of the Theban family through three generations and into four reigns, and through the final Hyksos war to its place of pre-eminence. Even toward the end of his reign he still

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remembered her as the guiding personality of the family and recorded on a great stela at Abydos his devotion to her :

“ Now, it came to pass that His Majesty King Ahmose sat in the audience-hall, with the hereditary princess, great in favour, great in amiability, king's-daughter, king's-sister, divine consort, great king's wife, Ahmose-Nefretiri, who liveth. One spoke with the other, seeking benefactions for the departed and his sister asked him : ‘ Wherefore has this been remembered ? And why has this word been spoken ? What has come into thy heart ? ’ The king himself replied to her : ‘ I have remembered the mother of my mother, and the mother of my father, the great king's-wife and king's mother, Tetisheri, triumphant. Although she already has a tomb and a mortuary chapel on the soil of Thebes and Abydos, I have said this to thee, because My Majesty has desired also to have made for her a pyramid and a chapel in Tazeser as a monumental donation of My Majesty. Its lake shall be dug, its trees shall be planted, its offerings shall be founded. It shall be equipped with people, endowed with lands and presented with herds. Mortuary priests and ritual priests shall have their duties, and every man shall know his place.’ Even as His Majesty spoke these words, this monument was in process of construction. His Majesty did this because he so greatly loved her, beyond everything. Never did former kings the like of it for their mothers.”

Tetisheri rested in her Theban tomb for nearly six centuries, until the brigandage in the Necropolis became so uncontrolled that it was necessary to gather up the royal mummies and move them from place to place out of danger of the thieves. Most of them had been robbed, and Tetisheri's body had been stripped of its grave clothes by the time it was carried to the hiding place at Deir el Bahri. Either then, or during the final move to Cairo some forty years ago, the bandages on which her name was written had been separated from her mummy. Recently they have been rediscovered in the Cairo Museum and there, doubtless, lies her mummy unknown to the present generation. If one might make a guess, there are many reasons for supposing that Tetisheri is the anonymous

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mummy "B"—a little, old, white-haired, partly bald woman, whose scanty locks were eked out with false tresses. Her face was roundish; her small chin pointed, and her upper teeth prominent, like all of the members of the family of Ahmose.

The position which Tetisheri occupies in Egyptian history is extremely interesting. She was the first of a line of remarkable women who exerted unusual influence in their days. At Tetisheri's death her daughter Ahhotep became regent during the absence of Ahmose, her son, at the Nubian campaigns. At Ahhotep's death, later in the reign of Ahmose, it was Nefretiri who became the great personage, and she survived at least until the coronation of Thutmose I. Her daughter Ahhotep II and her granddaughter Ahmose II carried on the tradition, until finally the latter's daughter Hatshepsut became the actual, acknowledged ruler of Egypt.

NOTE.—Bibliographical references to the monuments mentioning Tetisheri (a dedication stela from the Montu Temple; farm accounts; her tomb statues; bandages from her mummy, and possibly the mummy itself, and the dedication inscription of her monument at Abydos) are given by Winlock in the current number of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1924. The other ancient documents bearing on the Hyksos period are retranslated by Gunn and Gardiner in the *Journal*, 1918, page 36.

H. E. WINLOCK

QUEEN HATSHEPSUT

The discovery of the tomb of the pharaoh Hatshepsut, who reigned in the 15th century B.C., was a great triumph for the archaeologists. The tomb was found in the Valley of the Kings, near Thebes, and it contained many valuable objects, including a large statue of the queen.

Hatshepsut's reign was marked by a period of peace and prosperity. She was a powerful ruler who expanded Egypt's empire and built many great temples. Her reign was a golden age for Egypt, and she is remembered as one of the greatest pharaohs of all time.

After her death, the power of Egypt declined, and the country was divided into many small kingdoms. The pharaohs of the 18th and 19th centuries were not as powerful as Hatshepsut, and Egypt's empire was lost.

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Hatshepsut, the Queen

The Interpreter, the Quaker

QUEEN HATSHEPSUT

BY PROFESSOR MARGARET MURRAY

THE XVIIIth Dynasty is a period of great queens. At the very beginning is Queen Aahmes-Nefertari, revered and worshiped for more than a thousand years ; in the middle of the dynasty is Hatshepsut, the greatest of all Egyptian queens ; and at the end comes the beautiful Queen Tyi, whose influence on the history of her period is only now being realised.

Hatshepsut's career begins at the very beginning, with her parents. Like all the Pharaohs from the Vth Dynasty onwards she claimed divine descent, and she recounted the circumstances of her birth with such dramatic power that her inscription served as a standard text and was copied almost verbatim by Amenhotep III who merely altered the names of mother and child. Every Pharaoh was, in his own estimation and in that of his people, the offspring of a human mother and a divine father, and it was this belief which Hatshepsut records so vividly on the walls of her temple.

Amon, originally the local god of Thebes but regarded at this period as the supreme deity of Egypt, called together all the gods of Egypt to announce his desire of begetting a child to rule over Egypt. Thoth, the god of wisdom, named Aahmes, queen of Thothmes I, as the appropriate mother, and at once led Amon to the royal palace where they found the queen asleep. " Like a jewel was she in her beauty, and the chamber in which she slept was like the setting of the jewel ; black bronze and electrum, acacia wood and ebony, were the adornments of the palace, and her couch was in the form of a fierce lion. The fragrance of the perfumes of Punt filled the chamber, and Queen Aahmes awoke and beheld Amon-Ra, King of the gods, Maker of men. In majesty and beauty he

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appeared before her and her heart was filled with joy.” In the representation of this scene, Amon and the queen are seated on a couch, while the two goddesses, Neith and Selk, support their feet. Amon places the sign of life in the queen’s hand, and with the other hand he holds another sign of life to her nose that she may “breathe into her nostrils the breath of life.” The next scene shows Khnum the creator receiving instructions from Amon, and he makes answer to the King of the Gods : “I will form for thee thy daughter, and her form shall be more glorious than the Gods, for the greatness of her dignity as King of the South and North.” Khnum is then shown fulfilling his promise to Amon ; he sits at a potter’s wheel fashioning the bodies of Hatshepsut and her *ka*, while beside him kneels Heqt, the goddess of birth, infusing life into the lifeless clay. The next is the birth scene ; the child and her *ka* are already born, and are surrounded on all sides by rejoicing gods and goddesses, who acclaim her as the monarch of Egypt, “for the daughter of Amon-Ra was to sit upon the throne of Horus of the Living, and rule the land of Egypt to the glory of the Gods.” The child was then lifted in the arms of the goddess Hathor and carried into the presence of her divine father Amon who received her with delight. Hatshepsut was thus launched on her earthly career with the assistance of all the gods and goddesses of Egypt ; and as might have been expected with such sponsors, that career was a brilliant one.

When she was old enough for the honour, the gods consecrated her for her high position as Pharaoh by a ceremony of purification, and she was taken to the ancient shrine of Heliopolis to be crowned by the god Atum. She was then in the bloom of her youth and beauty, and she is enthusiastically described as being like the gods, “like a god’s was her beauty, like a god’s was her form, like a god’s was her splendour.” All the chief deities of Upper and Lower Egypt, Hathor of Thebes, Buto of Dep, Amon of Karnak, Atum of Heliopolis, Mentu of Thebes, Khnum of the Cataract, their images borne on the shoulders of their priests, accompanied her to Heliopolis in a triumphal procession, or came out to meet her as

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she passed, crying, "Welcome, daughter of Amon-Ra. Thy boundaries shall be as wide as heaven, as far as the confines of darkness. Egypt shall be filled with thy children's children in number like grains of corn." On arriving at Heliopolis the queen was led by the goddess Hathor into the presence of Atum ; she knelt at his feet and he placed on her head, first the red crown of Lower Egypt, and then the white crown of Upper Egypt. The crowns were carried in, each by a goddess, and were set on the new monarch's head with the words, "To thee is given this Red Crown which is on the head of Ra ; thou shalt wear the Double Crown, and thou shalt take the Two Lands by this its name. To thee is given this White Crown, the power upon thy head ; thou shalt take the Two Lands by its greatness and by this its name." Then the crowd of priests, masked to represent the Spirits of the South and North, shouted aloud in chorus, "May they give all life and power, long duration, and gladness of heart." The ceremony was repeated before the god Amon, and Hatshepsut was thus invested with the kingship by the principal god of the North and the principal god of the South. During the long ceremony of the crowning the ancient Hymn to the Royal Crowns was probably chanted by the choir of priests and priestesses ; "Awake in peace, O great Crowns of Egypt ! Awake, awake, the White and the Red ! Awake in peace, O great Crowns of Egypt ! Awake in triumph, Lady of Dread." After the crowns were set on the queen's head, the gods conferred on her the mystical names which were conferred on all Pharaohs, the principal name was, when written, always enclosed in a cartouche and was an epithet compounded with the name of Ra ; it was the official name by which the monarch was known to foreign potentates and it was used in all official documents and proclamations. This name shows that the Pharaoh was regarded as the incarnation of the Spirit of God ; the personal name of the monarch was always preceded by the words, "Son of the Sun," to show his divine ancestry, and it also was enclosed in a cartouch. After the bestowing of the names, Hatshepsut, habited as a king and wearing all the royal insignia, was proclaimed King before the gods, and

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immediately afterwards was publicly proclaimed in the presence of the court and the people. The proclamation was made by the reigning Pharaoh, Thothmes I, to whom Hatshepsut stood in the relation of daughter and wife, as her titles "King's daughter" and "King's great wife" show. He calls to her, "Come, O glorious one, on whose brow is the Double Crown, O daughter of the White Crown, beloved of Buto." All the royal officers, the nobles, the councillors, the officials of the palace, and the chief of the people, were summoned into the presence to do homage to the newly crowned sovereign. When they were assembled and in their appointed place Thothmes made the proclamation: "This is my daughter, the Consort of Amon, Hatshepsut the living. She is my successor, she shall sit upon my glorious throne. She shall command the people in all parts of the palace for she shall lead you; ye shall hear her words and be united at her command. Those who worship her shall live, those who blaspheme her shall die. Whoso proclaims the name of Her Majesty shall enter at once to the Royal Court, just as was done when the name of My Majesty was proclaimed. Verily, thou art divine, O daughter of God, for whom the gods fight and whom they protect by command of her father, the Lord of the gods." At these words the assembled multitude prostrated themselves and kissed the earth her feet had trodden. Then they went out of the palace and spread the news throughout the town, going from house to house. The people came out shouting her name, the soldiers joined in the chorus, they leaped and they danced, proclaiming and proclaiming her royal name, rejoicing that God himself had turned their hearts to his daughter. Priests were now summoned to make out the whole of her royal titulary and official titles, which were to be used in all documents and inscriptions made in her name. This concluded the civil ceremony; there still remained certain religious rites. Throughout these rites she appears crowned with the Double Crown for she was already legally the Sovereign Ruler of Egypt. The ceremonies were performed on the four sides of the temple. She was led by the Anmutef priest first to the eastern side of the Great House, where a priest personify-

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ing the Hill-god poured water over her, saying, "I purify thee with these waters of life and power, of long duration, of health and gladness of heart, that thou mayest celebrate many Sed-festivals like Ra for ever." Horus, "the great God, variegated of feathers," then led her to, apparently, the south side of the temple, where the god Set joined them. Horus and Set together announced that "she shall sit as king of the South upon the Horus-throne of the Living, and shall be the Leader of the Living." After this she made the circuit on the north of the wall, preceded by the four standards of royalty, and the final ceremony was the announcement by Horus and Set that "she shall sit as King of the North upon the Horus-throne of the Living."

The chief work of Hatshepsut's reign is the great temple of *Zeser zesru*, "Holy of Holies," known in modern times as Deir el Bahri. It was modelled on the terrace-temple of Mentuhetep III, but is on a far grander scale. It rises in three terraces, one above the other, the highest ending against the vertical face of the cliff, into which the shrine is cut. It faces due east, and as it is shut in on the west the sunrise is visible from it but never the sunset. In Egypt the sun was the god of the Pharaohs, and his daily resurrection was to his royal worshippers the promise of their own resurrection; therefore Hatshepsut placed her mortuary temple where the rays of her newly risen Lord might shine upon it, while his daily death was hidden from sight. An avenue of sphinxes shaded by trees led up to the pylon which formed the entrance to the outer court. Access to the middle court was obtained by a sloping ramp, and another ramp rose from the middle to the inner court, making a processional way along the axis of the temple. The inner court was entered by a stately granite doorway and was colonnaded on all four sides. The three shrines had been natural caves originally, but had been enlarged and lined with sculptured slabs. One of these sanctuaries was dedicated to Hathor, who seems to have been a cave-goddess in early times; here she shares with Amon the dedication of the whole temple.

The inscriptions recording Hatshepsut's divine birth and her

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coronation are sculptured on the north side of the western colonnade of the middle court ; on the south side of the same colonnade the other great event of her reign—the trading expedition to the land of Punt—is recorded. There are many accounts of such expeditions by kings before and after Hatshepsut, but none so full as this. It is noteworthy that while the Egyptians usually spoke of trading expeditions to Nubia as “ campaigns,” perhaps because of the armed escort which accompanied them, this term is never applied to expeditions to Punt, and Punt is never included in any list of conquered countries. It is always called the Land of God, and was considered holy and therefore inviolate. The actual position of Punt is still uncertain, all that is known is that it was down the Red Sea ; it was probably the coast of Somaliland, though there is some evidence that the Egyptians also considered the coast of Arabia as Punt, for the imports into Egypt from Punt consisted of perfumes, frankincense, and scented woods. Hatshepsut fitted out a fleet of five large sailing ships to carry her envoy, Nehesi, and the goods for trade. These trade goods were practically the same as those used in Central Africa up to the present day, strings of beads, bracelets, and weapons ; objects which were cheap and common enough in Egypt but highly valued evidently by the people of Punt. Nehesi the envoy disembarked, had his tent pitched by the shore and spread out his trade-goods on a table in front of it. The chief of the country, who seems to have been alarmed at first at the sudden advent of an unknown people, came out with his wife and family and principal men to meet the Egyptian envoy. The trade-goods were a sign of peace, and the timid folk were re-assured and took heart again. They asked Nehesi how he had come, whether by “ the roads of the sky,” by the sea, or by the river. They were eager to exchange the products of their country for the fascinating objects so temptingly displayed by the stranger, and they brought out gold rings, gold dust in bags, wooden boomerangs, and baskets full of frankincense. When the bargaining was over the chiefs of both sides sat down to a banquet provided by the Egyptian envoy ; it was a splendid feast of meats and bread prepared after the Egyptian

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manner, and washed down with great draughts of wine and beer. Nehesi was a man of business and he had at once set all the soldiers and sailors to work ; while he was entertaining the chiefs they were busy loading up the ships with the goods taken in exchange. He had struck a good bargain, for the ships were loaded to their utmost capacity with gold, ebony, ivory, frankincense, aromatic woods, panther-skins, ostrich feathers, birds' eggs, and live animals, such as monkeys, baboons, dogs, giraffes and hunting leopards. Every ship took on board also seven incense-trees, carefully packed with earth round their roots, to be planted in the gardens of Hatshepsut's temple. A few of the more adventurous of the inhabitants of Punt were persuaded to go to Egypt, and the expedition sailed away in triumph. Their arrival in Egypt caused the wildest excitement ; queen, priests, nobles and people came out to meet them and to see the wonderful things they had brought with them. The queen watched the unloading with intense interest ; the trees were carried at once to the lower court of the temple and planted in pits of earth which had been already prepared for them. The sacks of frankincense were emptied one after another until the heaps were higher than a man ; it was then measured and carried into the storehouses, the queen herself filling the first measure. The gold was weighed in a balance so large that one pan could carry more than thirty large rings at a time ; the other pan of the balance was filled with weights which, because it was a temple of the cow-goddess, were shaped in the form of cows. Artists had been sent with the expedition to make drawings of the strange country and folk, so that the queen might know the Land of God in a way which was impossible by mere description. The artists evidently made sketches on the spot, and these were afterwards reproduced in sculpture on the walls of the temple. Hatshepsut is thus the first who made clear to her subjects and to posterity the aspect and life of a foreign country. The Puntites were a tall fair race, with aquiline features, the men wearing long narrow beards like the Pharaoh and the Egyptian gods. The houses were of matwork, thatched, built on piles and entered by ladders, they were built close

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together in groves of palms and other trees. All this suggests that the village, which the Egyptians visited, was on the banks of a tidal river ; it is clearly in Africa for giraffes are among the animals taken back by the expedition. Besides the Puntites, negroes and Gallas are represented ; these were probably there, like the Egyptians, for purposes of trade. The person, however, who excites most interest in modern times, is the wife of the chief of Punt ; she is represented as immensely stout, great rolls of fat disfigure her body and limbs, her features are harsh and strongly aquiline, and her ornaments are large and barbaric. Behind her walks a patient donkey, saddled with a soft cushion and labelled " the donkey which carries the chief's wife." The chief himself, though slender in build and in aspect like an Egyptian god, is as barbaric in his ornaments as his wife. Following the two principal personages are their two sons, both tall and slender like their father, and behind them is their sister, quite a young girl but already showing indications of reaching her mother's enormous proportions. The splendid results of the expedition filled Hatshepsut and her ecclesiastical authorities with pride and joy. Never before had there been such an expedition, never before had such wonderful things come into Egypt ; and as a corollary, never was there such a god as Amon, whom therefore all Egypt should worship, and to whose priests all honour and gifts were due. It is, however, very true that never before or after was there so exact an account, so accurate a representation of the Land of Punt, which was to the ancient Egyptians as real and yet as mythical as the Isles of the West were to mediæval Europe.

Another great work recorded by Hatshepsut is the setting up of obelisks in the temple of Karnak ; these were four in all, but the record applies only to the pair which stood before the inner pylon of Thothmes I, the original entrance to the temple. Both these obelisks were of granite ; one still remains upright on its base, the other has been overthrown at some period, perhaps when the Assyrians sacked Thebes ; the upper part lies broken on the ground, the lower part has disappeared. The standing obelisk is a single block of granite nearly a hundred feet high ; and the problem of

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quarrying, moving and erecting a stone of that size and shape required technical skill and ability of a high order. The method seems to have been this : a suitable rock being found in the quarry, the obelisk was sketched in exact dimensions on its face ; a trench was made all round the sketch by pounding the granite with rammers ; when this was deep enough, the stone was cut loose by driving a series of little tunnels at intervals under it, each opening being packed tight with stones and wood ; the packing being increased with the increase in the size of the openings, until the obelisk was detached from the rock and lay on a bed which had been packed under it. By means of levers and by continuously packing underneath, the obelisk was lifted out of its groove and carried on rollers to a sled or cradle on which it was secured with ropes. The sled with the obelisk on it was transported on rollers down the embankment from the quarry to the river, an embankment which had been used from early times for the express purpose of removing heavy stones from the quarry. The two obelisks were taken down the river by boat to Thebes. To set up this heavy slender stone on its pedestal was a problem which the Egyptian engineers solved with the simple means at their disposal. A ramp of earth was built all round the pedestal leaving a funnel shaped opening above the pedestal ; there was a tunnel in the ramp communicating with the funnel at the height of the pedestal. The funnel was filled with sand ; the obelisk was pulled up the ramp, base first, to the edge of the funnel, the sand was gradually cleared away from below through the tunnel, the obelisk gently descended and finally came to rest on the pedestal. All the inscriptions on the obelisk were not engraved at the same time ; the centre vertical line was all that was done at first ; later, a wall was built round each obelisk, hiding the lower part ; the upper part was then enriched with scenes of offering placed vertically down the central line of inscription. This was evidently done by Hatshepsut herself ; there are eight scenes on each side and five out of every eight represent the queen, and the only instances of usurpation of her cartouches are by Sety I.

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Like all great queens Hatshepsut had the gift of choosing able ministers. Her envoy Nehesi proved himself competent and adequate, but the outstanding figure of this reign was the architect and vizier, Senmut. He appears to have held every office it was possible to hold concurrently, and his position as administrator of the finances of the temple of Amon gave him as much power over matters ecclesiastical as he had over civil affairs as vizier. He was second only to the queen in power, and her trust in him was shown by her confiding her daughter, the future queen, to him for instruction. Of her two daughters the beautiful Nefru-ra died young, the younger lived to grow up and married Thothemes III.

Hatshepsut had two burial places, a not uncommon custom among the kings of Egypt ; one tomb was in a valley far west in the Theban hills, the other was in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. There is no certainty that she was buried in either of these, for in each was found an empty sarcophagus. In the second tomb a sarcophagus of Thothmes I stood beside that of the queen, neither of these were standing in their proper position, and it is possible that the tomb had been abandoned even after the foundation deposit had been placed at the entrance and some of the funeral furniture deposited in the funeral chamber.

Many and wild are the conjectures as to how Hatshepsut met her end, all of which are unproved and without any real foundation. It is suggested in some modern histories that she was murdered by Thothmes III, in order to clear his way to the throne, and that out of revenge he destroyed her body and erased her name. It is perfectly true that at Deir el Bahri and in other temples her name and figure have been erased, but so also have the name and figure of Amon. Much is made of the fact that Thothmes III's cartouche is often cut over hers ; here again the evidence falls to the ground as the names of Thothmes I and Thothmes II are cut over hers equally often, and on the obelisk Sety I has usurped her name twice. The mere usurpation of a cartouche, no matter how often repeated, is no proof of murder, otherwise Rameses II must be considered the most amazing murderer of all time for he usurped the cartouches

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of most of his predecessors ; Setnekht also usurped the tomb as well as the cartouches of Ta-usert, yet he has never been accused of murdering her.

Hatshepsut's career must be viewed in the light of modern historical knowledge. Egyptian queens held a high position as inheritance was through the woman ; a man might claim the throne as the son of the queen, in which case his children would not succeed him, the succession going to his sister's children ; or he might marry the heiress-queen and become Pharaoh by right of marriage, whatever his previous rank had been. The Egyptian Pharaoh was more tied and bound by law than almost any other monarch, therefore Hatshepsut could never have obtained or retained her position unless she had acted in strict accordance with law. She appears to have administered the kingdom during the reign of the weakling Thothmes II and during the minority of Thothmes III. Her position towards those two Pharaohs as well as towards Thothmes I suggests that she was married consecutively to all three. Consanguinity was no bar to marriage, and an Egyptian king legitimised his position by marriage with the heiress, no matter how close the relationship.

Hatshepsut stands out as one of the great monarchs of Egypt. Though no wars or conquests are recorded in her reign, her triumphs were as great as those of the warrior-kings of Egypt, but they were the triumphs of peace, not of war. Her records, as might be expected from a woman, are more intimate and personal than those of a king. There are no campaigns, no lists of conquered towns and countries, no enumeration of captives and of the slain, no dashing exploits of battle ; instead there are detailed accounts of a friendly visit to a foreign land, of the coronation, of the moving and erecting of heavy stones ; unexciting items perhaps, but of surpassing interest in the wealth of personal detail and the human element pervading them. This was no conqueror, joying in the lust of battle, but a strong-souled noble-hearted woman, ruling her country wisely and well.

M. A. MURRAY

THOTHMES III



Thothmes III.

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THOTHMES III (1503-1449)

BY GUY BRUNTON

THOTHMES III is in many ways the most striking figure in the whole long list of the Pharaohs of Egypt. He is the first and only king who has left many detailed records of his foreign wars ; he consolidated the conquests in Asia which his grandfather Thothmes I had made ; and during his reign Egypt became mistress of an empire, stretching further to the north and south than it had ever done before—or was to do again. Tribute of all kinds flowed into the country ; temples to the gods were built or enlarged in almost every city of the kingdom, and wealth and prosperity were at their maximum.

The parentage of Thothmes is open to question. There is a conflict of evidence as to whether Thothmes I or Thothmes II were his father ; but the probability rests with the latter. His mother was named Isis, as recorded on the king's mummy bandages ; but very little is known of her.

The prince was born at Thebes, and at an early age he was appointed " prophet " of the god Amen, becoming later on " Iunu-mut-ef " or " Pillar of his Mother," another priestly rank. In an inscription at Karnak we are told he was chosen king by the direct oracle of the god. We may infer from this that he was the candidate for the succession to the throne most favoured by the hierarchy ; and in later years Thothmes showed his gratitude by the lavish way in which he endowed the temples of Amen.

It was during the lifetime of Thothmes II that the coronation took place—on 4th Pakhons. Of his marriage we know nothing definite. His principal wife was Meryt-ra Hatshepset, the daughter of Hatshepsut, the great Queen of Thothmes II, but it is question-

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able whether the king was of marriageable age at his accession. The titles he adopted were said to have been given him by the god Amen himself. Horus, "Mighty Bull, shining in Thebes"; He of the Two Goddesses, "Enduring as King, like Ra in Heaven"; Golden Horus, "Mighty in Power, splendid in Crowns"; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, "The Being of Ra is established" (Men-kheper-ra); Son of Ra, "Child of Thoth, Beautiful of Form" (Thothmes).

During the early years of his reign the country was governed by his aunt, Hatshepsut. This great queen was the daughter of Thothmes I, and, according to her own account, had been specially selected by her father to succeed him. Such a startling departure from precedent would indeed have required some special procedure to give it an appearance of legitimacy. But if the king actually did take this course he had good grounds for doing so. His son, Thothmes II was a weakling, who seems to have suffered from some complaint which brought him to an early end. On the other hand Hatshepsut was a woman of the greatest energy and capacity, perfectly able to carry on the administration of the country, and to organise important trading expeditions to far distant foreign lands. In this she had the good fortune to be assisted by a group of able and devoted ministers, such as Senmut, Hapusenb, Nehsi and Tahuti. It is true that we know of no wars during her reign: but we read that timber was brought from Syria in her twenty-eighth year; and this would suggest that that country was submitting quietly to the Egyptian yoke and that punitive raids were not necessary.

Just before the death of Thothmes II, Hatshepsut agreed to the succession of his son the young Thothmes III. Her eldest surviving daughter Neferu-ra was given to him in marriage, thus assuring his necessary title to the throne. He was acknowledged as king conjointly with Hatshepsut on public monuments, and documents were dated in his name. But it was only in outward form that Thothmes was king. His strong minded and capable aunt was not likely to hand over the reins of government to an inexperienced boy. It was not to be expected that a woman of 40, after years of

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rule, would willingly abdicate when at the height of her powers.

On the other hand, Thothmes, as he grew up, became more and more restive at the state of subjection in which he was kept. Hampered and controlled on all sides, it was natural that a man of his ambitious nature, should feel more and more resentful of the queen and her ministers, who fettered his activities in every direction.

But help came to him from another quarter. The war against the Hyksos had shown the Egyptians the necessity for a standing army: not only to repel invaders, but, better still, to prevent invasion by carrying war into foreign countries; and by putting them into subjection, rendering them incapable of further mischief. The soldiery now became a definite class in the organisation of the nation, and their leaders naturally formed part of the administration. Hatshepsut's pacifist policy had deprived these ardent spirits of an outlet for their energies; and it is easy to imagine how readily they lent their support to the young Thothmes in his struggle for the reins of power. How the end came we do not know—Hatshepsut, now about 60 years of age, may or may not have died a natural death. But it is certain that a mighty vengeance was wreaked on her supporters. They disappear from the page of history; and their names and figures were ruthlessly chiselled from the walls of Hatshepsut's great temple at Deir el Bahari. The tombs of those who had predeceased her were violated and every effort made to destroy all memory of them. The queen's name itself was also erased in the temples in most cases, and those of Thothmes I and II put in its place. Apparently Thothmes III wished to record the names of those kings who were nominally ruling with Hatshepsut. But in true Egyptian fashion the substitutions were done in a haphazard and incomplete way.

Thothmes was not slow to put his ambitious plans into action. A restive army was only too anxious to follow his leadership and set out on campaigns which would be sure to yield them a handsome booty. In the last 22 years of peace Egypt's resources had been stored up; and a full treasure chest gave the means for equipping

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the army with all necessities, and, also possibly, for the hiring of mercenaries. A prudent general like the king would not set out without a force such as would make victory certain. The conquered people of Syria were becoming restive. They thought to take advantage of the weakness which Hatshepsut may have shown in her declining years, and of the political intrigues which were rife at the Egyptian court. The state of affairs was such that Thothmes found it necessary to act with the greatest possible despatch. We gather that the allied countries of Zahi, the later Phœnicia, aided by the powerful state of Mitanni, bordering on the Euphrates, were doing all in their power to encourage and aid the rebellion in Palestine which had recently broken out.

In less than three months the king had assembled his army on the frontier of Egypt at Zaru. With almost incredible rapidity the march to Gaza, 160 miles away, was accomplished in nine days. At Gaza he arrived on the anniversary of his coronation ; but no time was lost in festivities, and Thothmes marched off again the next morning, April 29th. On May 10th he was in the region of Mount Carmel. So far he had been moving through country which had not dared to rebel against Egypt. But now he heard how the allies had occupied Megiddo, in the plain of Esdraelon, a fortress which commanded the road to the Lebanon and to the Euphrates. A council of war was held and the line of advance discussed. There were three ways open across the mountains to Megiddo. Two to the north and south were circuitous, but easy roads. The other was short and direct, but merely a bridle path, permitting an advance in single file only. The generals were naturally against the use of this route. But Thothmes, recognising the value of speed and surprise, decided in favour of the path, declaring that he himself would lead the column. On the 13th of May, the king with his vanguard slept at Aaruna. Next morning he came in touch with small bodies of the enemy, but was able to reach more open country where his forces could deploy. Just after noon a further advance was made for an hour or so as far as the brook Qina, where the camp was pitched. The Syrians were in force to the south of Megiddo,

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as they evidently expected the Egyptians to advance from that direction. Thothmes was therefore able to send a portion of his forces to the north-west of the town. His retreat by an easy route was thus assured, and he was in a position to prevent the flight of the Syrians. Next day, May 15th, he attacked the enemy, who had come up between him and the fortress. The king, in his chariot, plated with electrum flashing in the sun, led the centre in person "like a flame of fire." The Syrians fled at the first onslaught. The gates of the city were hastily closed, and lucky ones were hauled up into it over the ramparts. At this juncture, however, the king was unable to follow up his victory and seize the panic-stricken town. His soldiers were too undisciplined to refrain from turning aside to loot the enemy's camp and despoil numbers of slain lying on the ground. A siege lasting several weeks was made necessary. On its surrender, owing to famine, a great plunder fell to the Egyptians, which is described in great detail. But the inhabitants were treated with consideration. The king of Kadesh himself escaped, but his family and those of other allied princes were carried off to Egypt, to be educated and "Egyptianised" and then to be returned to their native country.

Proceeding on his march northward, the king reached the mountains of Lebanon; but, as the season was far advanced, he decided to content himself with receiving the submission of the local chieftains, and building a fortress on the main road to protect his newly won conquests. Some time was spent in organising the government, and collecting tribute from the cities which had rebelled. Native princes were installed as governors, and their sons sent as hostages to Egypt.

In October Thothmes returned to Thebes, where the booty was presented to Amen, and the victory celebrated by the inauguration of new feast days. Extensive additions and alterations were begun at the Amen temple of Karnak, and it was on one of these temple walls that Thothmes sculptured the records of his campaigns, which were added to from year to year. On another he inscribed the names of as many of his ancestors

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as were remembered, and arranged for their mortuary services.

Kadesh on the Orontes was the principal stronghold of Syria, and it was from there that the chief opposition to the rule of Egypt arose. Before, however, advancing against it, Thothmes was prudent enough to consolidate the country to the south, and make certain that no treacherous insurrection could suddenly threaten his rear. Two seasons were devoted to this organisation, the king returning each autumn with the vast tribute which had been collected and with gifts from the adjoining countries who wished to conciliate their powerful neighbour. Among these Babylon is mentioned and Kheta the Great. He also made a striking collection of animals, birds, and plants which he brought back to Thebes to beautify the gardens of the god.

The fifth campaign was directed against the coast-lands of Northern Phœnicia, which country protected the king of Kadesh on the West. With great strategical skill, and tireless energy, Thothmes embarked his forces and transported them by sea to the Syrian coast; his landing place may have been Byblos, which had been connected with Egypt in the time of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. The principal inland towns of Arvad and Tunep were besieged and fell into his hands.

All was now ready for the sixth campaign directed against the arch-enemy Kadesh. Landing at Simyra, he rapidly advanced against that city, and captured it, laying waste its groves, and carrying off its harvest.

The seventh campaign made further inroads into this district, and the eighth, in the king's thirty-third year, carried his arms to the Euphrates where he erected a stela beside that of his grandfather Thothmes I. Not content with this, the king eclipsed all records by crossing the river, and setting up a boundary stela on the east of it. Fighting occurred with the king of Mitanni, one battle taking place at Carchemish; the officer Amenemheb, who has left us priceless records of these events, here distinguished himself. Naharain, however, soon revolted, and the tenth campaign was the

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result. Other expeditions followed, concluding with the seventeenth in the king's forty-second regnal year. This was directed once more against the powerful and rebellious city of Kadesh, allied with the kingdom of Naharain. Tunep was subdued, and the king then attacked Kadesh itself, which once more was taken by storm, after a brave defence.

This is the last time that Thothmes had to lead his armies into Syria ; and the only other campaign we read of was directed against the Sudan in his fiftieth year, when the king was not less than 60 years of age. The tribute from the south had come in in past years with considerable regularity ; but events in the far north of Syria had later so absorbed the attention of the king, that the southerners had probably tried to escape their obligations. A punitive raid was therefore necessary. Finding the canal at the first cataract, which had been cleared by his grandfather, again obstructed by rocks, the king gave orders for its clearance. On his return he was able to make use of it, and bring his troops back to Egypt without disembarking them en route.

At the end of his wars, the king put up in the temple at Karnak a long list of conquered cities and countries both in the north and the south. This was copied in later times by Pharaohs whose performances fell far short of those of Thothmes, but who wished to appear as great a conqueror. A large stela of black granite was also put up in Karnak, inscribed with a long hymn of victory. This consists of twenty-five lines, and is a fine literary composition.

Thothmes was fortunate in the men who occupied the important offices of his kingdom, and in the generals who aided him in his wars abroad. We know the names of several of his military officers, such as Amenemheb, mentioned above, and Amenemant, a general who combined with his military duties those of an overseer of building operations, or architect. His most famous general was Tahuti, whose exploits at the siege and taking of Joppa formed the subject of a legend. That he was an actual person we know from the magnificent gold dish which was given him by the king as a reward for his services. This is now in the Louvre.

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During the frequent absences of the king for months at a time when campaigning in Syria, the affairs of the country were left in the hands of the viziers. Great responsibilities were thus put upon their shoulders, and to guard against the danger to the throne the office was divided into two branches by Thothmes III ; for it is in his reign that we first hear of a vizier of Lower Egypt and another of Upper Egypt. The viziers at Memphis were Ptahmes, followed by his son Thothmes. At Thebes User was vizier at the beginning of the king's sole reign, and was succeeded in the twenty-eighth year by his nephew Rekh-ma-ra. This is an official who is well-known to us from his magnificent tomb in the hill of Sheikh Abd-el-Kurneh. Here we learn how the vizier was installed in his office and the multifarious duties which fell to his lot. We are shown the audience hall in which he sat to try cases with the 40 rolls of the law in front of him ; and also the reception of the taxes levied on the various local officials as well as tribute from countries. In fact this tomb gives us an insight into the administration of the state, and one of the best representations of conquered peoples, Syrians, Cretans (?), and Sudanese. Rekhmara in one passage pays a tribute to the closeness with which Thothmes followed the details of everything which took place. " Lo, his majesty knew that which occurred ; there was nothing which he did not know ; he was Thoth in everything, there was no affair which he did not complete."

Outlying parts of the kingdom had a separate system of administration. Kush, or Nubia and the Sudan, was governed by viceroys of whom we know two under Thothmes III : Thure and Nehi.

The Oases were in the charge of a high official, such as the Erpati Antef, whose title was " Lord of the entire region of the Oases." They seem to have been connected with the Thinite Nome. Puam-ra, one of Thothmes' chief " architects," was also responsible for the reception of the tribute from both northern and southern Oases.

In spite of his warlike activities, and the constant attention which he gave to the administration of the country in all its branches, Thothmes was to be renowned also as a builder. We know the

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names of some of his architects and ministers of works, such as Amen-em-ant, Puamra, and Men-kheper-Ra-senb.

In all important towns, and in many smaller ones, temples were built or enlarged. Not only from the Mediterranean to the Second Cataract do we find his monuments, but also in Sinai and at far-away Soleb in the Sudan. Karnak of course received the principal attention, and a great addition now known as the Festival Hall of Thothmes III was made at the east end. This is remarkable for its columns with curious inverted capitals. Several of the great obelisks of red-granite erected by the king in the cities of the country are still existing, either wholly or in part, though mostly removed to European and even American capitals. "Cleopatra's Needle" is one of these. Of his statues a great number have survived—too many to enumerate here. The best known to English readers is the colossal head of red-granite in the British Museum. This is not remarkable as a portrait; but viewed from below, as it has to be in its present position, it appears more clumsy and grotesque than it really is. The finest portrait of the king is perhaps the famous schist statue in the Cairo Museum. This was found by Legrain at Karnak, with the great mass of statues of all ages, which had been collected from the temple and buried at some later date when the great fane was repaired and generally put in order. The profile and front views of this statue show a remarkable difference of aspect. The profile is that of a refined but most energetic temperament, with the large nose so often associated with military genius. The full face, with its rounded cheeks and somewhat plebeian expression is not of a type usually associated with the Egyptian royal family at this time. We see a likeness to his mother Isis.

In the British Museum there is a portion of a basaltic schist statue of a king, uninscribed, attributed to the XXVIth Dynasty (No. 873 in the guide) which so closely resembles the Cairo statue that we may almost certainly see in it another portrait of Thothmes III.

We know nothing of the death of Thothmes. His son, Amen-

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hetep II was, it would seem, appointed co-regent a couple of years previously ; and on the 30th Phamenoth in his 54th year the great king died at an age of about 63. His tomb, discovered in 1898 by Loret is in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. It is painted with figures of gods and funeral formulæ, but is not as magnificent as might have been expected. The sarcophagus is of sandstone, and was empty when found. The mummy of the king had been removed to a safe hiding-place by the priest-kings of the XXIst Dynasty at a time when robberies in the royal tombs were so rife that it was not considered safe to leave it there. It was found by natives in 1881 with many other royal mummies. From it we find that Thothmes was small in stature, the mummy measuring under five feet. But it had been broken in pieces by the ancient robbers and rebandaged, so that the exact height is not known. The bandages are inscribed with the name of his son, who rewrapped the desecrated body of his father.

We learn from his tomb that his wife Meryt-ra survived him. His wives Sit-aah and Nebtkheru and his daughter Nefertari had pre-deceased him. The names of some nine other princesses who were possibly his daughters are known, but they are of no importance. Amenhetep may have been an only son : he was about 20 years old when associated with his father on the throne.

So ended the reign of perhaps the greatest monarch who sat on the throne of the Pharaohs. Professor Breasted has summed up his character in his "History of Egypt" in such a way that I cannot do better than quote his words : "His character stands forth with more of colour and individuality than that of any king of early Egypt except Akhnaton. We see the man of a tireless energy unknown in any Pharaoh before or since ; the man of versatility, designing exquisite vases in a moment of leisure ; the lynx-eyed administrator, who launched his armies upon Asia with one hand and with the other crushed the extortionate tax-gatherer. . . . While he was proud to leave a record of his unparalleled achievements, Thutmose protests more than once his deep respect for the truth in so doing. 'I have not uttered exaggeration,' says he, 'in order to

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boast of that which I did, saying, "I have done something," although my majesty had not done it. I have not done anything . . . against which contradiction might be uttered. I have done this for my father, Amon . . . because he knoweth heaven and he knoweth earth, he seeth the whole earth hourly.' Such protestations mingled with reverence for his god as demanding the truth, are not infrequently on his lips. His reign marks an epoch not only in Egypt but in the whole East as we know it in his age. Never before in history had a single brain wielded the resources of so great a nation and wrought them into such centralised, permanent, and at the same time mobile efficiency. . . . He built the first real empire, and is thus the first character possessed of universal aspects, the first world-hero. . . . His name was one to conjure with, and centuries after his empire had crumbled to pieces it was placed on amulets as a word of power."

GUY BRUNTON

AKHENATEN, TY, NEFERTETE
AND MUTNEZEMT

D

Queen Ty

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AKHENATEN, TY, NEFERTETE AND MUTNEZEMT

BY PROFESSOR T. E. PEET.

DURING the first quarter of the fourteenth century before Christ, Egypt enjoyed a period of grandeur and prosperity to which even her own wonderful past could find few parallels. Her ruler, Amenophis III, The Magnificent as he has been called, had inherited from his predecessors a vast empire beginning at Naharin, the country lying between Syria and the Euphrates in the north, and stretching far away into Nubia in the south. In the foreign courts of Babylonia, Assyria and Mitanni—perhaps even in Crete—Egypt was held in respect, her alliance was eagerly sought after, and her enmity redoubted. Every part of the known world sent to her its natural products and its manufactured goods. In the country itself a high and luxurious standard of living prevailed, at least among the richer classes. For some decades Asiatic slaves had been pouring into Egypt, prisoners taken in the almost annual campaigns which the Egyptian kings now conducted in Palestine and Syria. These thronged the houses of the wealthy, performing the more menial household tasks and occasionally rising to positions of confidence. They brought with them Syrian customs, ideas and even words, and made their influence felt not only upon the Egyptian character, but even upon its language.

At the head of the court stood the king himself, setting an example of personal luxury which must have had a baneful influence on his subjects. At Thebes, his capital, he built not only a vast funerary chapel, of which two colossal royal figures, seventy feet

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in height, are all that now remain, but also an immense palace with a pleasure lake more than a mile in length. When not actually employed in fighting in defence of the empire which he had inherited he seems to have spent much of his time in the amusements of the chase, and many copies still exist of a large scarab, which must have been officially issued in considerable numbers, recording how his majesty in the first ten years of his reign had slain with his own hand no fewer than 102 lions.

Scarabs of similar type also attest the king's marriage with Ty, a lady to whose origin and character we must now devote a few moments' study. It has frequently been stated that she was a foreigner. Some have even gone so far as to identity her with a certain Kirgipa, daughter of King Shattarna of Mitanni, a country on the upper waters of the Euphrates, who was sent by her father as a gift to Amenhotep in Year 10, and whose arrival in Egypt along with 317 attendants is attested by a commemorative scarab, and by two of the Tell el-Amarna letters. Since Ty is separately mentioned as queen on this same scarab, and is from another scarab known to have been already married to the king in Year 2, it is hard to see how such a mistake should have arisen. Probably the base of these various attempts to stamp her as a foreigner is the assumption that she played a great part in the religious revolution of Akhenaten, which is doubtful, and the belief that this revolution had an Asiatic origin, which is highly improbable.

An admirable opportunity to test this hypothesis occurred when in 1905 Mr. Theodore Davis discovered in the Valley of the Kings the undisturbed tomb of Yuia and Tuiu, the parents of Queen Ty. The mummies were examined by Professor Elliot Smith. With regard to that of Tuiu he says, "there is nothing in her appearance to suggest that she was not Egyptian." Of that of Yuia he remarks, that "the form of the face (and especially of the nose) is such as we find much more commonly in Europe than in Egypt," but adds that, "we should not be justified in concluding that it is not Egyptian, for we do meet with similar proportions in many people supposed to be Egyptian."

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Whatever may have been Ty's eventual origin it is clear that she was already married to the king not later than the second year of his reign, when she appears on the scarabs commemorating the cattle-hunt. A similar scarab, more than a dozen examples of which have survived, records the marriage. The king's titulary stands first, followed by that of Ty, who is called simply Great King's-Wife. The names of her parents are next given and the inscription ends with the words "She is the wife of a great king whose southern boundary is as far as Karoi and his northern as far as Naharina."

Ty is one of those characters to whom history has probably done more than justice. Women of mark are so rare in Egypt that the importance of the few who seem to raise their heads above the common level is apt to be exaggerated. In most books which deal with the period of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten the impression is given that Ty was a woman of commanding personality, who not only influenced her husband very powerfully—the expression "the power behind the throne" has even been used—but engineered the religious revolution of her son. Yet the evidence on which these statements are based is seen, the moment it is critically examined, to be remarkably flimsy. For the "powerful influence" which she is said to have exerted over her husband there is no evidence whatsoever save the fact that he inserted her name after his in royal inscriptions, a practice in which he was followed by his immediate successors. It is hardly necessary to point out that this shows nothing more than a desire on the part of the king to associate his wife more closely with himself in the formal aspects of royalty than had previously been customary. Whether this was a personal feeling on the part of Amenophis IV or an indication of a change in the Egyptian attitude towards women in general it is impossible to say. For the belief that Ty was behind the religious revolution of her son there is even less evidence, indeed, as we shall see later, the indications point precisely in the opposite direction.

Certain writers have claimed to see in the Tell el-Amarna

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letters proof of the paramount position of Ty at the Egyptian court. For instance in Letter 26 Dushratta, King of Mitanni, writes to Ty, lately become a widow, and asks her to use her influence with her son Akhenaten to secure the continuance of the friendly relations which existed between Egypt and Mitanni in the reign of his father Amenhotep III. In Letter 27 Dushratta, writing to Akhenaten himself, states that he is sending him gifts and adding special presents for his mother Ty. Again in Letter 28 Dushratta, writing to the king, greets Ty by name and tells the king that she knows all about Dushratta's friendship with Amenhotep III. But what does all this amount to? Surely not proof that Ty possessed unusual influence at the court of Akhenaten, still less at the court of her husband. The situation is plain. Amenhotep III is just dead, and Dushratta, who was on the best of terms with him, wishes to retain Egypt's friendship; he approaches the new king, to whom he is a stranger, through the king's mother, to whom he is well known through his friendship for her husband. This was a natural move, and if it be thought remarkable that a foreign ruler should under any circumstances write to a queen in Egypt it may be remembered that he had sufficient justification in the unusual position which Amenhotep III himself had outwardly accorded to his wife. To argue from his remark that Ty would remember his friendship with her husband to the belief that Ty wielded great influence over either her husband or her son is the simplest of *non sequiturs*.

In several of the tombs of Akhenaten's courtiers at Tell el-Amarna Ty is accompanied by a sister whose name has been generally read as Nezemmut. This lady has in her train two dwarfs whose names have survived in the tomb of Ay: they are called with ironical inappropriateness "The vizier of the Queen, Eternity" and "The vizier of his mother, Pre (the sun-god)." Every effort has been made to discover further details of the life of Nezemmut. She has by some been identified with a lady of this name who appears with King Horemheb in a colossal syenite statue at Turin and who has by some been regarded as his wife,



Queen Mutnezemt

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of the paramount position of Ty at the Egyptian court. In Letter 26 Dushratta, King of Mitanni, writes to Ty, who is a widow, and asks her to use her influence with her son Akhenaten to secure the continuance of the friendly relations which existed between Egypt and Mitanni in the reign of his father Amenhotep III. In Letter 27 Dushratta, writing to Akhenaten, states that he is sending him gifts and adding special mention to his mother Ty. Again in Letter 28 Dushratta, writing to Akhenaten, mentions Ty by name and tells the king that she knows all about his friendship with Amenhotep III. But what does this prove? Surely not proof that Ty possessed unusual influence at the court of Akhenaten, still less at the court of her husband. The conclusion is plain. Amenhotep III is just dead, and Akhenaten, who was on the best of terms with him, wishes to retain his friendship. He approaches the new king, to whom he is unknown, through the king's mother, to whom he is well known by friendship for her husband. This was a natural move, and it is not at all remarkable that a foreign ruler should in such circumstances write to a queen in Egypt it may be regarded as having had sufficient justification in the unusual position which Amenhotep III himself had outwardly accorded to his wife. It is a little more remarkable that Ty would remember his friendship with her husband on the belief that Ty wielded great influence over her husband or her son is the simplest of *non sequiturs*.

In several of the tombs of Akhenaten's courtiers at Tell el-Amarna Ty is accompanied by a sister whose name has been identified as Meket. This lady has in her train two daughters who have survived in the tomb of Ay: they are named Nefer and Meket. The vizier of the Queen, Nefer, is mentioned in the tomb of Ay. The vizier of his mother, Pre (the sun-god). It has by some been identified with a lady of this name who appears with King Horemheb in a colossal syenite statue in which she has by some been regarded as his wife,





Queen Nefertete

Queen Victoria



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it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the king to whom she was sent and to whom she was at least intended to be married was Amenophis III. We cannot say for certain that this marriage took place, though if it did not it is hard to see why Dushratta later addresses Amenhotep III as his son-in-law. What is, however, quite certain from the letters is that this same Tadukhipa was eventually married to Akhenaten. Yet Egyptian sources never mention her ; she is never figured on the monuments and does not appear as the mother of any of the king's numerous daughters. Some have therefore concluded that she and Nefertete were one and the same person. This must remain a pure conjecture. It should always be remembered that Tadukhipa may have died shortly after the marriage and thus not survived into the period from which we have so many monuments : furthermore the Egyptian king, though ready enough to accept a daughter from the King of Mitanni, whom he probably regarded as little better than a vassal, may not have been prepared to give her the position and privileges of a queen in Egypt.

Of the events of Nefertete's life we know very little. The date of her marriage is unknown, but it was doubtless previous to the moment at which the king adopted the new religion in all its fullness. On the earliest monuments on which her name occurs she is called simply Nefertete : later, however, the name Neferneferuaten, " Beautiful are the beauties of the Disk " is prefixed to this within the cartouche. This change must have taken place between the sixth and the eighth years, for on the Boundary Stela K at Tell el-Amarna, which contains Text A (see below), and which is in all probability to be dated to Year 6, she bears only the shorter name, while on the stelæ bearing Text B, the latest date in which is Year 8, she has the addition. That she embraced in full the religion of the Disk is amply shown by her appearance side by side with the king in all scenes where the worship of the new deity is shown.

- Up to three years ago this was virtually all that could be said about Nefertete. The excavations at Tell el-Amarna in 1922,

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however, revealed a fact which gives rise to very interesting speculations. A palace called Maruaten, built by Akhenaten at the south end of his new city, was excavated and found to consist of several parts built at different dates, some before and some after Year 9. In three of the parts, one of which was or contained a sanctuary called the "Shade-of-Re of Nefertete," mentioned in other inscriptions, the queen's name had been in many cases erased and that of her daughter Meritaten substituted. This might, of course, be explained by supposing that buildings originally constructed for Nefertete were transferred to her daughter, she herself receiving better accommodation elsewhere. The changes, however, are of too radical a character to make such an explanation probable and we are thrown back on two alternatives, namely that the queen either died or was disgraced. In favour of the latter may be cited the facts that Meritaten in substituting her own name never gives her affiliation to Nefertete, which we should naturally expect to find, and that on a statue-base found in Egypt many years ago, on which Akhenaten and Meritaten are named, the name of Nefertete, who was given as mother of Meritaten, has been carefully erased. If such a disgrace actually took place it must have been towards the end of the reign. Parts of the buildings of Maruaten were not earlier than Year 9 ; moreover wine jars of Years 10 and 11 are inscribed as containing wine from Nefertete's estate, and in the famous tribute scene of Year 12 from the tomb of Huya she is still shown with the king. A startling theory as to her subsequent history is mentioned below.

We do not know the date of her death. Statements to the effect that she survived into the reign of Horemheb or even that of Seti I are totally devoid of foundation.

We have already discussed the age of Akhenaten at his accession and we must now try to put together the few facts which are known with regard to the early years of the reign. The salient fact is that in Year 6 at latest the king, who came to the throne as Amenhotep in the orthodox state-worship of Amun, had

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changed his name to Akhenaten, moved his capital to Tell el-Amarna, 250 miles further north, and substituted the worship of the Aten or Sun's Disk for that of the old state-god. The date of even this event, though in the writer's opinion certain, needs a short discussion. The new city, called Akhetaten, Horizon of the Disk, was formally laid out and its limits marked by no fewer than 17 rock-stelæ, some of which have survived in more or less complete form. The majority of these stelæ bear an inscription which for convenience we may call Text B, dated in Year 6 with an addition in Year 8, recording the founding of the city. Three, however, bore a different text known as Text A. Of these three two are badly damaged, and the date, which remains on the third alone, has been read as Year 4. This date was very carefully examined by Battiscombe Gunn in 1923 and his dictum concerning it is that the date is probably *not* Year 4. This is precisely the impression which the writer brought away from a study on the spot in 1922. There is also internal evidence against this early date in the fact that a certain event mentioned in the inscription itself is said to have taken place in Year 4.

Now it is a curious coincidence that the day and month date of this text are precisely the same as those of the Text B, namely day 13 of the fourth month of winter. It therefore seems extremely probable that both texts, A and B date from the same year, namely the sixth. Perhaps Text A was actually inscribed in that year: the proclamation recorded in Text B, though made in Year 6, was not actually written up on the stelæ until Year 8, as its last paragraph attests.

We shall therefore run little risk of error if we assume that the sixth year saw the removal of the capital from Thebes and the foundation of the new city of Akhetaten. But what of the years which preceded the change and what of Akhenaten's early rule in Thebes? Most historians have pictured him as a minor of fourteen or fifteen, ruled by his mother Ty and gradually forced by her into a break with orthodoxy. We shall not lightly accept this view, for in the first place we have seen that the evidence for Akhenaten's

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extreme youth at his accession is very flimsy and that there is no reason at all for supposing the revolution to have been engineered by Ty. When we come down to facts the most salient is that during the early years of his reign the king's names were Amenhotep "Amun is satisfied," Neferkheperure-uaenre "Beautiful is the being of Re, Re is (or has become) one." These names persisted until the fifth year at least, for in that year we have a papyrus document from Kahun which gives the names in this form. It was probably at the moment of the revolution and of the move to Tell el-Amarna in the sixth year that the king changed his name from Amenhotep to Akhenaten, "It is well with the Disk."

There is little to relate concerning these first six years. Up to the present Akhenaten has been known to us almost entirely from the remains of his capital Akhetaten; the rest of Egypt has produced practically nothing of his, and the consequence is that of his Theban period we know very little. Obviously, however, his religious revolution was not the work of a moment, and we may safely fill the early years of the reign with the elaboration of the philosophy of the Disk, insofar as this deserves the name of a philosophy, and the preparations for the *coup d'état*.

One new fact with regard to the revolution has been brought out during the last few years, namely that the worship of the Aten or sun's disk was not, as we had become accustomed to think it, a mushroom growth of the heretic's own reign but had its roots further back in Egyptian history. The pylon built by Horemheb in the great temple of Karnak was in part at least constructed of blocks from buildings made by his predecessors. One of these blocks, which has been in Berlin for many years, shows an unusual scene. On the left we see the sun-god depicted in the traditional manner, namely with a human body and the head of a falcon surmounted by the sun's disk. This is the time-honoured Egyptian method of representing the sun-god, whose full name was Re-Horus-of-the-Horizon. In this case, however, the Deity is called "Horus-of-the-Horizon who rejoices in his name of Shu who is the Disk." This is precisely the name, as we shall see later,

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given by Akhenaten to his Disk, who, however, would never, at Tell el-Amarna, be represented in the form here seen. Over against the god stands a king portrayed in the usual fashion and accompanied by the name of Akhenaten, Neferkheperure-Uaenre. At first sight then the interest of this slab lies in the fact that here we have the Disk, under its new name, represented exactly after the manner of the old sun-god Re-Horus instead of in the form of a disk with rays, invariable at Tell el-Amarna. Authorities were therefore agreed in hailing this as marking a transition stage during Akhenaten's early years at Thebes, when the conception of the new deity was forming in his mind but had not yet taken its eventual shape. Interest redoubled, however, when it was noticed not only that the king's name had been re-cut over an older one, but that this latter was still just recognisable as that of Amenhotep III. It then became clear that even under the reign of Akhenaten's father the Disk had been of sufficient importance to have a temple erected in his honour in Thebes. In other words the roots of the Aten heresy go back at least into the preceding reign, and the full name of the new deity " Re-Horus-of-the-Horizon who rejoices in his name of Shu who is the Disk " is to be ascribed not to Akhenaten but to his father or even to some earlier king. This temple was taken over by Akhenaten on his father's death and remained the seat of the new cult. It was here doubtless that the new buildings were made to which Akhenaten refers in the stela from Zernik and for which he quarried stone at Gebel Silsileh, as a rock-tablet there records. In both these inscriptions the king is still Amenhotep and still prays to Amun ; in the latter he has the title " chief priest of Horus-of-the-Horizon-Aten," and speaks of erecting an obelisk to the god in Karnak, an indication that his Jubilee was near at hand. We have seen that this Jubilee was probably celebrated in the sixth year of the reign, a date which fits in well with the fact known on other grounds that the royal name was changed between the fifth and sixth years. This Theban temple must have been destroyed in the reign of Tutankhamun, after the fall of Atenism, for its ruins, as we have seen, were utilised by Horemheb in building his pylon.

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There are other indications which tend to push back the origin of the Aten cult beyond the reign of Akhenaten. For instance, we know that even under Amenhotep III there existed priests of the Aten cult in Heliopolis, the immemorial home of sun-worship, perhaps in a temple called "The Disk is watchful in Heliopolis" which we know to have existed there. One of the Tell el-Amarna letters, too, which is on reasonable grounds assigned to the reign of Amenhotep III rather than to that of Akhenaten, mentions a town in Syria called Khi-na-tu-na, a name which in all probability contains the element Aten (a-tu-na).

Thus it may be regarded as beyond all doubt that Akhenaten did not invent the worship of the Disk but merely elaborated a cult which already existed and gave it the paramount position in the state.

Further evidence with regard to the events of these early years doubtless exists in the private tombs of Thebes, indeed De Garis Davies, who probably knows these tombs better than any other man living has already begun to work this promising vein with good results. Several of these tombs date from the end of the reign of Amenhotep III and the beginning of that of Akhenaten, and the changes in design and ornamentation traceable in them are an indication of the course of events in the capital. The finest is that of Ramose, but until this is more adequately published it is difficult to interpret its evidence with certainty. It seems clear, however, that during the building of this tomb the style of drawing changed completely, for while part of the decoration is in the traditional manner another part, datable to Year 4, is in the peculiar style associated with the Tell el-Amarna period of Akhenaten's reign. Other changes of style and drawing, too technical to be discussed here, point in the same direction and go to make it clear that in the king's earliest years at Thebes a spirit of change was already in the air, and Davies is probably right when he suggests that even in the third year building was in progress in Akhetaten, though the king had not yet moved from Thebes, and had perhaps not yet contemplated a complete transference of the court to the new site.

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This tomb of Ramose is from the religious point of view still completely orthodox except in the later additions, for there is no mention of the Aten as a god. Tomb 192, probably slightly later to judge by the technique, takes us little further except for a decided emphasis laid on sun-worship. But in the tomb of Parennefer, No. 188, which Davies would attribute to the second or third year, a vast change is seen. Not only does Re-Horus-of-the-Horizon receive the full didactic name of the Aten, but we also find for the first time the representation of the rayed disk in Egyptian art.

What precisely was the nature of Disk-worship as conceived by Akhenaten? This is a subject on which a considerable amount of nonsense has been talked and written, mainly because romance and imagination have been suffered to play too great a part in the inquiry. At the risk of being prosaic we shall therefore dismiss these elements from our service and examine the evidence of the monuments themselves.

The manner in which the deity is represented at Tell el-Amarna is invariable. It consists of the solar disk, to which is attached not the double cobra or uræus-snake usual in earlier and later pictures of the sun's disk, but the single cobra worn on the forehead of Egyptian kings. From the disk stream down numerous rays each ending in a human hand: when the king and queen are present in the scene some of these hands hold out symbols of life to the noses of the royal pair. In offering scenes some of the hands are frequently stretched out over the piles of offerings. From the lowest point of the disk there hangs in most cases below the uræus a sign of life, and its absence in other cases is perhaps merely a copyist's error due to a damaged original. In the form of the god there is certainly nothing to lend colour to the oft stated belief that the Aten is not the sun's physical disk but "the power which lay behind it." On the contrary it may be said that no Egyptian god had ever been represented under so purely physical an aspect as this, even the nature gods having been given a human body.

The very word Aten itself tells the same story, for it was simply the common Egyptian word for the sun's disk in the purely material

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sense, and if there was any real change in Akhenaten's new conception of the sun-god as shown in form and name it was in the direction of greater materialism. That the conception was not quite untinged by anthropomorphism is evident from the termination of the rays in hands and from the presence of the single uræus-snake, if indeed this be intended as a sign of royalty.

At the same time it should never be forgotten that the worship of the Aten differed from all other worships in Egypt in the fact that there was in the temple no cultus image of the god. What Akhenaten worshipped was no idol but the very sun itself. All pictures of the temple show the Disk not as an image in a shrine nor as a painting on a wall but in physical reality shining above in the sky, and it would even seem that the temples at Akhetaten were left wholly open to the sky in order to give the god as free and unimpeded an access as possible.

For further instruction we must now go to the "didactic" names of the Aten. The king gave to his deity a formidable name which was an attempt to embody in a single sentence the creed of the new religion. At the beginning of the Tell el-Amarna period this name with its titles ran as follows:—

"May the Good God live, he who takes pleasure in truth, lord of all that the disk encircles, lord of heaven, lord of earth, living Aten who brightens the two lands : may the father live *Re-Horus-of-the-Horizon lives, who rejoices on the horizon in his name Shu-who-is-the-Disk*, endowed with life for ever and eternity, living Aten, great one who is in the Jubilee, dwelling in the temple of Aten in Akhetaten."

The portion in italics is the actual name of the Aten and is written, despite the fact that it forms a single sentence, in two royal cartouches. This name was slightly modified in or about the ninth year of the reign, and from that time onward we invariably find the form *Re lives, the horizon-ruler, rejoicing on the horizon in his name Re-the-father-who-has-returnd-as-Aten*.

These names give us a considerable insight into the nature of the new deity as conceived by Akhenaten. The most striking fact

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is that they embody a distinct attempt at continuity with the sun-worship of past ages. They definitely claim that the new god is still the old Re-Horus-of-the-Horizon, but viewed under a new aspect. Another link with tradition is to be seen in the identification with Shu, whether we regard this latter as simply an old sun-god (*shu* is a common word for the sun) or as being identical with the very ancient and important god of the air. Furthermore, most of the titles accompanying the names are those usually given to Re-Horus in Egypt. Beyond all doubt the earlier form of the Aten's names marks a very earnest desire to conciliate the devotees of the sun-worship of Heliopolis and those of the state-worship in general so far as its solar aspect was concerned. Where Akhenaten made no attempt at compromise was on the subject of Amun. When after the disturbances of the VIIth to XIth Dynasties an obscure Theban family made their city mistress of all Egypt they had naturally elevated their city-god, the little known Amun, to the position of state god, but with true Egyptian conservatism they syncretized him with the earlier sun-god in the form Amun-Re-Horus-of-the-Horizon. With this deity as such the reform would have nothing to do ; it detached and eliminated Amun but took over the rest of the compound under a new form.

The change of names in the ninth year must mark a definite step in the evolution of the Aten theology. It is perhaps significant that both Horus and Shu disappear and that the only ancient deity who survives in the names is Re, who is once more very distinctly identified with Aten. On the face of it this would seem to indicate a tightening up of the system and a more complete break with the past. Yet we know so little of the history of the heresy that this must be regarded as little more than a guess.

A second point of interest in the didactic names of the Aten is that they appear to lay stress on his kingly aspect. His long name, despite the fact that it forms a single sentence, is distributed over two cartouches like that of a king and followed by the royal attribute "endowed with life for ever and eternity." Several of the titles are those of kings rather than of gods ; one of them indeed is used

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almost in defiance of logic, for the title " Lord of all that the Disk embraces," while suitable when applied to a king, as it often was, loses all its force when applied to the Disk itself.

A third point to be noted is the title " He who is in the Jubilee." This is the idiomatic Egyptian phrase for one who actually himself celebrates or has celebrated a Jubilee or *sed*-festival, not, as might be thought, a phrase applied to a god as the dispenser of Jubilees. This title, when it accompanies the later form of the Aten name, almost always appears in the modified form " Lord of Jubilees," which has precisely the same meaning. Gunn has pointed out that the first title does not appear until after the supposed celebration of the king's Jubilee in the sixth year, and that the change to the later title took place at or about the same time as the change of names in the ninth year, when the king would, according to the received tradition, have celebrated his second Jubilee. He argues from this that the deity was regarded as holding his Jubilee together with the king. He further points out that certain events recorded at Tell el-Amarna are dated in a certain year not of the king but of the Disk, and he shows that one of these events is dated in one tomb to Year 12 of the king and in another to Year 12 of the Disk. It therefore seems clear that the Aten was regarded as a ruler who began his reign simultaneously with the king and who celebrated his Jubilees along with him.

Such is the sum of what we may legitimately infer from the form in which the Aten is represented in art and from his titles and names. A further source of information lies in the hymns and prayers addressed to the god by his devotees. Copies of these were inscribed in the tombs of the nobles and even on the doorposts of their houses. An examination of these excerpts seems to show that there existed two separate hymns, a longer, the most complete copy of which has survived in the tomb of Ay at Tell el-Amarna, and a shorter, portions of which are to be found in no fewer than five of the tombs of the nobles. The shorter hymn consists mainly of passages from the longer with abbreviated phraseology, but it also adds a few new thoughts. These hymns have been so often quoted

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of late years that it would seem almost superfluous to quote them again here. Yet since our conception of Akhenaten and his religion must so largely depend on their content we cannot refrain from giving a translation of the whole of the longer hymn, in which everything which cannot be regarded as absolutely certain is marked with a query or omitted.

The hymn is entitled "Adoration of the Disk by King Akhenaten and Queen Nefertete" and runs as follows :

"Thou shinest beautiful on the horizon of heaven, O living Disk who didst live from the beginning. When thou risest in the eastern horizon thou fillest every land with thy beauty. When thou art beautiful, great, brilliant, high over every land thy rays embrace the lands even to the limit of that which thou hast created. Thou art Re. Thou bringest them all (the lands) that thou mayest bind them for thy beloved son. Even though thou art afar thy beams are upon the earth ; thou art in their faces . . . thy goings. When thou settest in the western horizon the earth is in darkness after the fashion of death. They (men) sleep in their bed-chambers covered up ; the eye beholdeth not its fellow. Men may steal away all their goods, though they be beneath their heads, and they know it not. Every lion cometh forth from his den, and every snake bites. Darkness is . . . and the earth is in silence, he who made them having gone to rest in his horizon.

"When thou risest in the morning and shinest as Aten by day thou dost put to flight the darkness and givest (forth) thy rays. The Two Lands (Egypt) rejoice, they awake and stand upon their feet, for thou has aroused them. They wash their limbs and take up their clothes, their arms do adoration to thy rising. All the land performs its labours. All cattle rejoice in their pastures. The trees and herbs grow green. Birds and winged things (come forth) from their nests, their wings doing adoration to thy spirit. All goats skip on their feet, all that flies takes wing ; they begin to live when thou risest on them. Ships ply upstream and downstream likewise : every path is opened by reason of thy rising. The fish in the stream leap before thy face, thy beams are in the depths of the ocean.

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“Creator of issue in women, maker of seed in mankind, who quickenest the son in the womb of his mother, soothing him that he may not weep, nurse within the womb, who givest breath to quicken all whom he would create. When he comes forth from the womb to the . . . on the day of his birth thou dost open his mouth . . . and dost provide for his needs. When the chick in the egg cries within the shell thou givest him breath within it to quicken him, thou has made for him his strength(?) to break it from within the egg. When he comes forth from the egg to chirp with all his might(?) he goes upon his two legs when he comes forth from it.

“How manifold are thy works. They are concealed from (us). O sole god to whom no other is like. Thou didst create the earth according to thy desire when thou wast alone, men and cattle, all goats and all that is upon the earth and goeth upon its feet, and all that is in the sky and flieth with its wings. The foreign lands too, Syria and Ethiopia, and the land of Egypt. Thou puttest each man in his place, thou providest for his needs, each one having his sustenance and his days reckoned.

“Their tongues are distinguished in speech : their characters likewise and their complexions are different. Thou hast distinguished the nations.

“Thou createst the Nile in the Underworld and bringest it forth according to thy will to give life to mankind even as thou didst create them for thyself, lord of all of them, who art weary by reason of them, lord of every land who risest for them, Disk of the day, great of might.

“All the far countries, thou makest them to live. Thou hast set a Nile in the heaven that he may come down for them and make streams upon the hills like the ocean to water their fields beside their villages. How perfect are thy counsels, thou lord of eternity. The Nile in heaven is for the foreign lands and the wild animals of every foreign land that run upon their feet, but the Nile when he comes forth from the underworld is for Egypt. Thy rays nurse all fields : when thou shinest they live and grow for thee. Thou

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createst the seasons in order to nourish all that thou hast created, the winter to cool them, the summer heat . . .

“Thou hast made a heaven afar to shine in it and to see all that thou hast made. Thou art alone, thou shinest in thy form as the living Disk, whether thou risest or shinest or art afar off or . . . Thou didst create millions of existences out of thyself alone, cities, towns, lands, paths and stream. Every eye beholds thee over against it when thou art the Disk of the day above . . . every(?) eye, thou didst create in order that thou mightest not see . . . which thou hast made.

“Thou art in my heart. There is none other that knoweth thee save thy son Akhenaten. Thou grantest him to understand thy counsels and thy might. The earth is in thy hand even as thou didst make them (*sic*). When thou risest they live, when thou settest they die. Thou art length of days in thyself. In thee men live. Eyes are on thy beauty until thou settest. All labour is set aside when thou settest in the west : but when thou risest for the king is taken in hand.”

The hymn concludes with a prayer that the Aten will sustain and protect the king and his queen.

The light thrown on the nature of the Aten religion by this hymn is clear and unambiguous. Aten is Re : he is the creator and sustainer of all men and all things, not only in Egypt but also in foreign lands. He has revealed himself to Akhenaten, who is his son, and who alone is capable of understanding thoroughly his nature and his counsels. Above all things it is to be noted that here is no subtle or complicated theology but simply an adoration of the physical sun. There is not a word of a power in or behind the sun : on the contrary, emphasis is laid on the physical aspect of the deity, and the discomfort produced in mankind by his daily setting is very forcibly described.

In certain respects this production occupies a unique position in Egyptian religious literature. It has in the first place a simple beauty which has probably not been surpassed in Egypt, perhaps hardly elsewhere. In the second place it is completely free from

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that tiresome mass of mythological allusion which make Egyptian religious documents so difficult to interpret and so disappointing to read. It is concerned with a single god, and that one under a new aspect, and for this very reason it was bound to set aside all that pertained to the rest of the pantheon and perhaps, though of this we cannot be certain, something if not all of that which clustered round the earlier conceptions of the sun-god himself. In the third place we find here for the first time in the religious literature of Egypt the explicit intrusion of foreign countries into Egyptian religious belief.

So far then the Hymn to the Disk is unique : so far but no further. There unfortunately exists in the minds of many of those interested in matters Egyptian a belief that this hymn stands entirely alone from every point of view, that there is no parallel to it in Egyptian literature, and that everything in it was novel and was due to the genius of Akhenaten himself. Nothing could be further from the truth. Artistically it stands very high, it is the finest hymn which has survived from ancient Egypt, but there are others which come not far behind it. If we find in it the first reference to a god who is the god not only of Egypt but also of foreign lands that is due not so much to the genius of Akhenaten as to the gradual enlargement of the Egyptian frontier during the XVIIIth Dynasty. Aten is the god of Syria and Ethiopia because these are now part of the empire of Egypt ; in other words the change is political rather than theological. That the hymn is monotheistic or at least henotheistic in tone is true, and it is probable that this is the cause of the exaggerated importance which has been attached to it. Apart from this, however, the ideas it expresses are not at all new, nor indeed are the phrases in which these ideas are embodied. They may be found in more than one hymn to Re and other gods. Thus a stela in the British Museum, set up by two brothers, architects in the temple of Amun in Karnak under Amenhotep III, bears a hymn to the sun-god containing remarkable parallels of diction to Akhenaten's hymn. "When thou showest thyself in the morning the daily tasks wax hot. . . . All eyes look upon thee. . . . Thou risest

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again in the early morning and thy light opens the eyes of beasts. When thou sinkest in the western hills they sleep as though they were dead. Hail to thee, sun of day, who didst create mankind and causest them to live. . . . all seeing, the sole lord . . . every land prays daily at his rising in adoration of him.” Or again, we might quote from the Hymn to Amen-re preserved on papyrus in the Cairo Museum, dating it is true from the XIXth Dynasty, but made up of fragments undoubtedly much older than that, and obviously under no obligations to the literature of a heresy so furiously suppressed and proscribed as that of Akhenaten. “ Lord of Nubia, Ruler of Punt . . . Lord of what exists, in whom all things have existence . . . father of the gods, who madest men and createdst cattle, lord of what exists, who didst create the tree of life, who bringest forth the green things and givest life to the herds. . . . Thou art the sole one who broughtest forth what exists, out of whose eyes came forth men and in whose mouth the gods came into existence, who createdst the pasture for the herds and the tree of sustenance for man ; who broughtest forth that on which live the fish in the stream and the birds who fly through the sky, who givest breath to that which is in the egg and endowest with life the young of the snake, who bringest forth that on which the gnats(?) live and the worms and fleas likewise, who providest the sustenance of mice in their holes and makest to live the birds in every tree.”

These excerpts will suffice to show that the idea of the god as creator and sustainer of what exists was by no means peculiar to Akhenaten and must not be reckoned as part of his contribution to Egyptian religion. In what then lay the unique nature of his theology ? Here we are in touch with the supreme problem of the heresy. Was it simply an astute political move to thwart the rising influence of the priesthood of Amun at Thebes, or was Akhenaten a genuine theologian and philosopher, and did he found an early, perhaps the earliest form of monotheism. We are probably not yet in a position to give a definite answer to this question, but we can at least marshal the facts which must be taken into consideration in any effort to solve it.

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At the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty Amun, once the insignificant local god of Thebes, was already well established as state-god under the title of Amen-Re-Horus-of-the-Horizon, a form which marks a compromise with the older forms of worship, more particularly with the very ancient sun-cult of Heliopolis in the Delta. The victorious exploits of the kings of that dynasty were naturally ascribed to the god, and the prestige of Amun, and consequently of his priesthood, increased accordingly. Into the coffers of his temples had now flowed for over a hundred years a steady stream of tribute from the wealthy province of Syria. The god, or, to be more exact, his priesthood, enjoyed all the power that money could buy, and the multiplication of temples and services gave them the additional influence which comes from the power to dispose of innumerable lucrative sinecures to the highest bidder. But the priests possessed a weapon even more powerful than this. The practice of giving oracular responses from the shrine of the god was doubtless very old in Egypt, but during the XVIIIth Dynasty it seems to have reached lengths undreamed of before. Its value as a political weapon was incalculable, and it seems that Thothmes III himself owed his election to the throne to a cleverly worked oracle, which we may be sure was not given gratis. The combination of these sources of power in the hands of an unscrupulous priesthood can be guessed. It placed them almost above the throne, and we are not surprised to see Thebes becoming throughout the XIXth and XXth Dynasties more and more priest-ridden until finally Rameses XI was actually displaced and the throne usurped by the chief priest of Amun.

There is thus nothing improbable in the suggestion that Akhenaten perceived the danger, realised that either the monarchy or the priesthood must fall and took his measures accordingly. If this is the case, and if the revolution was a purely political measure we should at any rate expect to find it adapted to the end for which it was designed, that is, at least, if we are to credit Akhenaten with any statesmanship at all. Were the measures taken such as might reasonably be expected to yield the desired result? It may be

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doubted. Had the change been directed merely against the priests of Amun it would have been sufficient to proscribe that god alone, and though it does seem that he bore the brunt of the attack yet almost the whole pantheon suffered with him though in less degree. What is more, the impression made on us by the religion of the Disk with its paraphernalia of didactic names and so on is that of a belief of a positive nature, of however imperfect a kind, rather than a mere negation of some other existing system.

It is thus doubtful whether the hypothesis of a political *coup d'état* will suffice to explain the Aten heresy, and the further we look into the heretical literature the more unconvincing does such a supposition appear, for the more persuaded do we become that the king had a new conception in his mind, a conception not perhaps completely formed, but roughly sketched out, and taking more definite shape as the years went on. That conception was monotheism. Akhenaten invented not a new god, but a new conception of deity. There has been much discussion and there will be still more on the question whether he was a true monotheist, that is to say whether he believed in one god to the exclusion of all others. Some authorities vigorously deny it. They point out that the expunging of the names of the other gods was in some places directed only against the Theban triad Amun, Mut and Khonsu, while at the Speos Artemidos, for example, only the name of Amun has been erased, the other gods being left untouched. Similarly on a grave stela from Abydos now in the Leyden Museum Amun has been deleted while Osiris and Anubis who accompany him are undamaged. Yet it is not hard to meet this. Akhenaten's immediate concern was with the state-god Amun. Once he could be replaced by the Disk the rest would follow. At the beginning of his revolution, when most of these deletions were probably made, he may also have felt the need of proceeding with caution and refraining from interference with such deities as Osiris and Anubis, who, though in no sense state-gods, bulked very largely in the popular belief, more especially in connection with death and burial. That others besides Amun were aimed at later if not at the outset

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is clear from the occasional deletion of the word " gods," for we can hardly be asked to believe that this was only done in cases where the word actually stood for Amun or members of his circle.

Akhenaten's monotheism has been denied on other grounds than these too. On the boundary stelæ of Year 6 at Tell el-Amarna he includes among his names the so called *nebti* or " Two Goddesses " name. This is taken by some to argue a tacit belief in the goddesses Nekhbet and Buto. In reality it shows nothing of the kind, for *nebti* is simply the name of that particular name, just as for the purposes of a British police court John Smith would have a Christian name John were he Christian, Jew or Mohammedan. As well may we claim that he believed in the goddess Maat because he used her figure in writing the word for " truth " or " justice." Others point out that Akhenaten takes the title " The Good God " and that this alone is sufficient to show that his system was not a monotheism. But here again it may be replied that " The Good God " is a time honoured title of every Egyptian king ; Akhenaten regarded himself as the son of the Aten and his representative on earth just as earlier kings had been sons of Re and living incarnations of Horus. That he found no inconsistency in preaching a sole god and yet retaining that claim to be regarded as a divine incarnation which was the right and privilege of all Egyptian kings is hardly matter for serious wonder.

In a word, if all the evidence be reviewed there is a strong case for believing that the king aimed at a true monotheism. It was not complete perhaps, but after all the whole period of development hardly exceeded twenty years, and even within these narrow limits we may perhaps see a serious development in the direction of more perfect monotheism in the suppression of Shu and Horus in the later didactic name of the Disk.

If this view be accepted, if we believe Akhenaten to have been a philosopher and a reformer with a new religion to preach or at least to practise, it is no longer necessary to ascribe a political purpose to his action : indeed this latter hypothesis would hardly be consonant with what we know on other grounds of his character,

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for the man who could sit singing hymns to the Disk at Tell el-Amarna while the vast empire bequeathed to him by his fathers was going to pieces in Asia was hardly of that stern stuff which goes to the making of political reformers. His problem lay in Thebes. It was there that the struggle between the throne and the priesthood should have been fought out, and to retire to a contemplative life at Tell el-Amarna was so far from being a solution that we cannot credit the king with having intended it as one and are almost forced to attribute it to a real religious fervour.

We are well aware that the point of view here adopted is that which has found favour with the many and is as such open to suspicion. But we do not shirk it for that reason, for we believe that the evidence points unmistakably in this direction. In estimating the character and weighing the exploits of the individuals of history the world will always accept the solution which holds most romance. Akhenaten has been presented to it as a theme worthy of the novelist's pen, a delicate, pensive, slightly epileptic young æsthete, blighted by a "languid love for lilies," "uttering platitudes in stained glass attitudes" on the painted pavement of his palace. The picture is that of an interesting youth, but whether of a real one we cannot say. This much, however, we are justified in saying. The king was a man of speculation rather than of action. He was just practical enough to accomplish the move from Thebes to Tell el-Amarna—the prestige and power of the monarch, however feeble his character, would probably have sufficed for this—but he was not practical enough to see that if his new creed was to live it must be made to live by resolutely meeting the danger in the Theban temples of Amun and in Syria rather than by running away from both and leading a life of contemplation.

This lack of the practical sense showed itself in another way, too, and we would recommend this particularly to the notice of his admirers who speak of him as the anticipator of much of what is best in Christianity. The Disk religion is singularly devoid of ethical content. This seems to be true of Egyptian religion in general, indeed there are times when one is tempted to regard it as

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a mere conglomeration of services and superstitions completely divorced, despite its occasional claims to the contrary, from all ideas of good and bad conduct. The real reformation in Egyptian religion would have been, in our opinion, one which brought into greater prominence the duty to one's neighbour and placed it in direct relation with the duty to the gods. We cannot see that Akhenaten did this. There is no word of conduct in the hymns. It is true that the king assumed as one of his epithets the words "Living on Truth (or Justice)," and there is also in the tombs of the nobles more than one reference to his partiality for Truth, but apart from the ambiguity of the word it is very difficult to give any tangible meaning to the epithet, the more so as it is an ancient epithet of the sun-god, taken over perhaps by the king without very much consideration for its meaning. It is easy to say that our own hymns of praise do not concern themselves with conduct, more especially towards neighbours, and that if a copy of the duty to one's neighbour as preached by Akhenaten had survived we might have formed a very much higher idea of his religion than we do. All we can say is that so such document has survived and that we can only judge by what exists. We shall therefore content ourselves with crediting Akhenaten with a reformation in the direction of monotheism and with certain refinements in the conception of deity which we shall describe in the words of a writer whose work on this subject has received far less attention than it deserves. He says "But whether the doctrine of Akhenaten was a purification of the old or the untainted expression of what is new, it is superior in two directions. It is free from all idle speculations and mythology, and from the empty symbolism which inevitably accretes upon them. . . . Faith is stripped of archæology, and becomes a living and natural piety. Its other merit lies in an increased optimism, corresponding, perhaps, to an advance in humanitarian sentiment. The destructive and oppressive action of the sun is not dwelt upon. The deity is presented as confessedly beneficent; not fear, but gratitude and a sense of dependence are regarded as the natural motives to piety."

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The life of Akhenaten and his court in the new city of Akhetaten which he founded can be reconstructed with some vividness, for excavation has laid bare at Tell el-Amarna the ruins of temple, house and tomb. The site lies 200 miles south of Cairo. Akhetaten lay on both sides of the river, its vast site being marked out by rock-tablets in the hills on either side. It was about five miles in length from north to south and eight in breadth from east to west. But the town itself was built on the east bank, where its ruins still occupy a strip of land five miles long and roughly three-quarters of a mile broad. To the north and to the south, at the points where the great curve of hills comes down almost to the river, were small villages forming protective outliers to the main town, and away to the east under the shadow of the hills themselves was a third small village in which dwelt the workmen engaged in the tombs of the nobles hewn in the cliffs hard by. In the town itself the most imposing building was the largest of the four or five sanctuaries of the Disk, nearly half a mile in length. Of the internal arrangements of this vast fane we have little idea for on it fell all the wrath of the adherents of the orthodox religion after the defeat of the heresy, and it was literally pulled to pieces, the statues of the royal family being dragged outside and broken into small fragments. Not far from this was the royal palace, or one of them, for there were several. This again yielded little except a beautiful painted pavement which afterwards fell a victim to the vandalism of an infuriated native. On the south extremity of the town lay another palace, so completely destroyed that the position of its columns could often only be determined by the marks left in the concrete in which their bases had rested. It was a large complex of buildings and gardens in the centre of one of which lay a pleasure lake, and the whole bore the name The Maru of the Disk. In this building were found the deletions of the queen's name referred to above.

Hundreds of the houses of rich and poor in Akhetaten have been excavated. The mansions of the nobles all conformed to a single type. Each had a large garden surrounded by a high wall with an imposing gateway. The house itself invariably had a central hall,

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lighted by small windows in the upper parts of its walls, which rose above those of the surrounding rooms, and two loggias, partly open to the weather, one on the north and the other on the west. Other rooms have been identified as bedrooms and work-rooms, and every house of any pretensions had a bathroom. A flight of stairs led up from the central hall to the roof. In rare cases there seem to have been two storeys. Cooking was in the larger houses done in the courtyard, where were also the granaries, the well, the stables and cattle stalls, and the servants' quarters. The streets of the town were completely unpaved and were for the most part narrow alley-ways, with the exception of one thoroughfare more than fifty yards broad which ran through the town from north to south.

In the cliffs some two miles east of the town were hewn the tombs of the nobles, the figured and inscribed walls of which form a wonderful storehouse of information without which we should know little about the heresy of the Disk. In a recondite valley seven miles up in the desert lies a tomb made for the royal family, a tomb in which perhaps Akhenaten himself was originally buried. It is unfinished, but three of the smaller rooms were evidently devoted to the burial of the princess Maketaten.

In this town lived Akhenaten and his family, surrounded by his courtiers and a large population who must have been to a great extent dependent on supplying the needs of the court. Fragments of wine jars found on the site bear dates up to the seventeenth year, and as neither of the king's successors reigned more than a few years in Akhetaten this date must give the minimum length for Akhenaten's own reign.

At the time of the migration from Thebes it is probable that only one daughter had been born to the royal pair, namely Meritaten, but she was rapidly followed by Maketaten, Ankhesenpaaten and at least three more. Of these Maketaten died young, Meritaten was married to Saakere (or Smenkhkhere, if this be the correct reading) who for a few brief months or years succeeded his father-in-law in Akhetaten, and Ankhesenpaaten was married to

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Tutankhaten who ruled after Saakere, at first for a short time in Akhetaten and later as Tutankhamun in Thebes. Had Akhenaten been destined to have male issue the history of the Disk-worship might have taken a very different course.

Queen Nefertete seems to have embraced in full the new religion, for she is represented on all the monuments as taking part along with her husband in the worship of the Disk. This custom of introducing the queen on state monuments was simply a continuation of a policy which we have already observed under Amenhotep III, and need not indicate that the queen took an exceptional position in political or religious life. At the same time the publicity accorded to the private life of the royal family is a striking characteristic of the art of Akhetaten, and scenes in painting and relief in which the young princesses sport about and on the royal knees are frequent in this reign though almost unthinkable in any other.

It would be interesting to be able to trace the fortunes of the queen-mother Ty during the heresy, but the evidence at our command is very slight. Her cartouche occurs alone and undated in a quarry in the eastern hills of Tell el-Amarna, and from this fact it has been argued that at the beginning of Akhenaten's reign she was supreme at Akhetaten, if only for a few weeks. There is no cogency in this reasoning. We know that in the twelfth year, if not earlier, she possessed in the new capital a sanctuary or part of one called "The Shade of Re of Queen Ty" and it is by no means improbable that the quarrying for that building was done in her own name.

It has already been seen that there is no evidence for assigning to her a prominent part in the revolution. The fact that she possessed a sanctuary in an Aten temple makes it clear that she was at least well disposed towards the new worship, indeed she had already during the life of her husband or shortly after his death shown her heterodox tendencies by giving to her youngest daughter the name Beketaten, "Servant of the Disk." We cannot, however, say whether she followed the court to the newly founded capital. There is a singular lack of reference to her in the monuments of

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the earlier part of the reign, more particularly in the tombs, where the royal family are so regularly portrayed, and it has been surmised with some reason that she preferred to remain behind in Thebes. In Year 12, however, she either paid a ceremonious visit to her son and daughter-in-law or transferred her abode there permanently. In that year were carried out the decorations in the tomb of a certain Huya who held the three offices of steward, treasurer and superintendent of the *harim* in the house of the queen-mother. The scenes in this tomb, apart from a representation of the receipt of the Syrian tribute, are almost entirely devoted to Queen Ty. In two pictures she is shown banqueting with the royal pair and the young princesses, and in another she is being introduced by the king into a sanctuary in which is the so-called Shade of Re of Queen Ty. Now it is possible that these scenes represent no particular moment of time but simply every day incidents in the life of the royal family, but taken as a whole the impression they give is that of portraying special events of peculiar significance, and we are strongly tempted to follow Davies in supposing that they celebrate a visit or, still more likely, a permanent migration of Ty to Akhetaten in Year 12. Why else indeed should an officer specially attached to her household settle there, and if she had been there throughout how comes it that he had not prepared a tomb for himself earlier than the twelfth year, for we may take it that the tombs of the nobles formed as essential a part of the early preparations on the new site as their houses.

Thus for a moment in Year 12 the veil is lifted only to fall again instantly. We have seen our last of a remarkable woman.

Akhenaten's life was not free from cares. The death whilst still young of his second daughter Maketaten must have been a heavy blow to him. He had no son to succeed him. Rumours of the discontent seething in Thebes among the dispossessed priests of Amun and their satellites and parasites cannot fail to have reached and disturbed him. In Syria Egyptian affairs were going from bad to worse and almost every courier must have brought in one or more of those appeals for help from the loyalists in Syria which have

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... particularly in the tombs, where
... and it has been surmised
... preferred to remain behind in Thebes.
... paid a ceremonious visit to her son
... her abode there permanently.
... on the tomb of a certain
... treasurer and super-
... of the queen-mother. The
... a representation of the receipt
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PHYSIOGNOMY AS HISTORICAL MATERIAL

The picture of Queen Tetasheri ("little Teta") was suggested entirely by the delightful statuette in the British Museum. The technique of this shows that the sculptor was hampered by his lack of facility, but in spite of a certain *gaucherie* he has conveyed such a delicious impression of shy youth, the little queen seeming weighed down by her royal array with its heavy headdress (a very interesting early form of the vulture cap), that the impulse to translate his effort into modern language was irresistible.

Hatshepsut was another baffling person. Her portraits have been so heartily obliterated by Thothmes III that it is hard to find one intact. But enough material remains to show that she strongly resembled her father, Thothmes I. Into her portrait as queen there crept, almost without my will, a look of watchfulness, or even suspicion, under its calm. In the somewhat anomalous position she occupied, against precedent in a country where precedent was justification in itself, and amid so many enemies and spies, she must have felt perpetually insecure, even though her immediate entourage was ardently devoted to her. So I let the watchful look remain—though I have no historical warrant for it.

The mummy attributed to Thothmes III is so badly knocked about and imperfect that it was next to useless as a basis for his portrait. But there is the very fine schist statue in the Cairo Museum, and hosts of others, all agreeing closely. In the schist statue there is in the full face a touch of vulgarity, almost of pomposity, which vanishes as one passes to his noble profile. His mother was only a lady of Thothmes II's *harîm*, not a royalty. Who can say whether the mixture of common blood with the "divine" was not visible on Thothmes III's face (indeed our sculptor affirms almost in spite of himself, that it was so), and whether it was not just the cruder vigour of the strain that made him so successful an aggressor abroad? The sculptor has had a struggle over the lower part of the face, between his love of truth and his reverence for the king. Down to the mouth the face is that of a fattish man—but it would never do for the Lord of the Two Lands

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to be represented to his adoring subjects with a double chin and thick neck, so the round cheeks fall away suddenly to the slim neck of a boy, quite out of keeping with the rest.

Of the portrait of Akhenaten I will say little except that it represents the king as he must have been toward the end of his reign. The poetic grace of his youth had gone, and illness and fanaticism had left their mark. He must have realised, if he realised anything, that his beautiful religion was not gaining ground, and that the world remained unregenerate. Ty's whole face shows her to have been a woman of violent emotions, swayed by impulse, subject to moods, and her expressive mouth moreover is that of a jealous imperious individual, lacking self-control. What a contrast is the high-bred self-repressed face of Nefertithi, eloquent of intelligence and forbearance. If these two women's faces speak the truth, they hint at family difficulties of which history tells us nothing. At any rate, Nefertithi looks "more of a lady" than any other queen whose portrait has come down to us.

Mutnezemt is a quite obscure personage, frankly treated merely as a peg for decoration. The only historical value of the picture is as a representation of the crown, wig and jewellery of the very end of the XVIIIth Dynasty, when fashions were changing, and the details have been carefully studied and can be depended on. The face has been taken from a beautiful colossal limestone head, attributed, and I think correctly, to the reign of Horemheb. This head is so obviously a portrait, that it has been thought to represent the Queen of Horemheb or some royal lady of the period, and a clever cruel creature she was, if the sculptor is to be trusted. It is at least as likely that the portrait is that of Mutnezemt, as of anyone else. But we know nothing certainly.

The value of this line of research cannot be known till it has at least been tried. The faces of our long ago predecessors must first be studied in the light of known facts, and then it will be found that more light is revealed by the study.

If we had given the countenance of our fellow-man of to-day closer attention, we should be able better to interpret the revelation

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of those faces so wonderfully preserved to us from ancient times.

I tender my warm thanks to all those who have helped me with this book—more particularly to those Egyptologists who voluntarily gave me assistance of the greatest value.

WINIFRED BRUNTON

THE END

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survived among the Tell el-Amarna tablets. Yet in a scene dated to his twelfth year Akhenaten could still represent the tribute of Syria as coming in as of old. We can only suppose that he shut his ears to all these disagreeable tidings. Shortly after this twelfth year came the heaviest blow of all. His wife Nefertete, unless we have misinterpreted the evidence, deserted him. Had the contemplative life begun to pall on her, or was she seduced by offers from the adherents of Amun in Thebes, who saw in her, as the embodiment of the succession, a popular rival to her husband for the throne? We do not know and we may never know. On the doorway of a tomb in Thebes (No. 139) is a hieratic graffito dated in the third year of a king Aakheperure, Son of Re Neferneferuaten. The tomb itself dates from the reign of Amenhotep III and the graffito must be as late as that reign or later. Amenhotep had a son named Aakheperre, older perhaps than Akhenaten, and this son may have ruled for a year or two in Thebes and may be the king here referred to. De Garis Davies, however, hints at another possible explanation. Neferneferuaten was a name of Queen Nefertete. Did she about the twelfth year or later disappear from Akhetaten to reappear in Thebes as a rival ruler to her husband, representing a party anxious for a return to orthodoxy or at least for compromise? This is the purest conjecture. Davies gives it only as such, and as such we quote it. What is certain is that her name disappeared from Akhetaten under circumstances which point rather to disgrace than to death, and the place knew her no more.

Nothing is known of Akhenaten's own end. Presumably he died in the heretic city and was buried in the royal family tomb in the distant valley, from whence his body was later removed to the tomb in Thebes in which it (if this be really his body) was discovered. There is nothing to show the exact length of time during which the city survived its builder, but there are good reasons for thinking it was not very long. The finds in the town include rings and other objects inscribed with the names of his immediate successors Saakere and Tutankhaten, later called Tutankhamun, and it has been assumed with some reason that both these kings actually

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reigned there, for had they returned to Thebes the destruction which eventually overwhelmed Akhetaten would not have been delayed as long as it was. But even before the return south compromise had already begun, and in the little tomb-chapels in the eastern hills of Tell el-Amarna were discovered in 1921 stelæ and lintels on which the names of Amun and the Disk actually stand side by side. Tutankhamun's origin is unknown, but he may never have been a real believer in the new creed, or at least in the possibility of establishing it. He ceased to fight against the storm, returned to Thebes, and by a formal and public act of orthodoxy swept away the flimsy structure of twenty years. Atenism had fallen never to rise again.

It has more than once been suggested that the religion of the Disk was a cult virtually limited to the king and court at Akhetaten, and that the rest of Egypt was but little interested in or affected by it. Such a belief is almost justified by the remarkable paucity of monuments of any kind depicting the new god or containing any reference to him except in Tell el-Amarna itself. At the same time it is to be remembered that the heresy only lasted twenty years, and that the number of monuments likely to survive from any particular period of twenty years in any place other than the capital is exceedingly small. The king certainly made some effort to establish Aten throughout the country. The defacing chisel of his masons is seen to have sought out the hated name of Amun and of other gods almost everywhere where monuments of earlier date still survive. Throughout the country temples to the Disk were erected. In Thebes itself, even before the move to the new capital a sanctuary called Gem-Aten-em-per-Aten had been set up. Heliopolis, as might be expected, had also its Aten temple, called Uthes-re-em-inu, but as we already read of priests of the Disk here under Amenhotep III it is not impossible that the temple existed before the days of Akhenaten. At Memphis a temple called quite simply The Temple of the Aten was still in use in the time of Sety I, and can hardly date from after the fall of the heresy, while at Hermonthis, the place of the king's coronation, where his uncle had acted as high priest of Re, there was a sanctuary called "The Horizon of Aten in

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Southern On (Hermonthis).” At Riqqeh was found the tomb of one Ipi who held the title “overseer of the lands of the estate of Aten” whether under Akhenaten himself or just earlier is not certain. Even in distant Nubia Akhenaten endeavoured to plant the seeds of his gospel, for there existed there in much later times a city called House of Gem-Aten which must originally have contained an Aten temple named after that of Thebes, the full name of which was Gem-Aten-em-per-Aten. Through the irony of fate this city became in later times a centre of Amun-worship and we thus find the incongruous combination Amen-Re of Gem-Aten. The Syrian Town of Khinatuna mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna tablets may indeed contain the element Aten (a-tu-na), but in any case it is a foundation older than Akhenaten himself, for the tablet which mentions it is one of those dating almost beyond doubt from the reign of his father.

The existence of these temples points to a definite attempt on the part of the king to spread the new worship, but it may well be that once established at Akhetaten he took as little interest in the religious affairs of the rest of his country as he did in the maintenance of order or in the preservation of its empire abroad. In any case let us remember that at all times there must be drawn a line of distinction between the state-worship in Egypt and that of the common people, who in the affairs of daily life were much more interested in the local deity or in the more homely mythological figures who protected them from snake-bite or presided over their mummification and burial than in the grander and more shadowy forms of the state-deity, were he Amen-Re or Aten. The measures taken by the reformer may have forced them to recognise officially the new deity, but it is not likely that a mere twenty years of the new monotheism did much towards eradicating the beliefs and practices based on two thousand years of tradition.

The change in religion was accompanied by a change in art-forms, traceable from the earliest years of the reign. The traditions of drawing which had prevailed almost untouched for two thousand years were laid aside and a freer and more naturalistic style prevailed,

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marked, however, by certain mannerisms which from constant repetition become extremely tedious at Tell el-Amarna.

It is not possible here to describe in full the nature of the changes which took place. Suffice it to say that the most obvious are the use of softer and more rounded contours in the drawing, especially of the human figure, and the application to art of a closer and more accurate study of nature, more particularly animals, birds, insects and plants, together with much greater freedom of treatment. Had we sufficient works of art from the period of Amenhotep III we should surely see these tendencies developing. No doubt there were at all times artists with new ideas, but it was rarely that any of them succeeded in breaking the fetters laid on art by the highly conservative religion which was its chief employer. At this particular moment, however, tradition had for the moment relaxed. The advanced school saw their chance and took it. The king, himself perhaps not devoid of an artist's eye and soul, and ready to welcome anything which would accentuate the break with the established religion, became their patron, and the decoration of the new town was placed in their hands. That this peculiar art was not some sudden development of the local art of the Tell el-Amarna district now seems clear from the fact that the change can be traced through all its stages in the tombs of Thebes itself. The process was complete at the time of the move, for there is literally nothing in the old style at Akhetaten, and the latest found re-used blocks in the pylon of Horemheb from the Aten temple at Karnak are most unmistakably in the Tell el-Amarna style. Even as we write, this pylon, built almost entirely of older blocks, is being carefully dissected, and it may prove possible to reconstruct whole scenes from the Theban Temple of the Disk. Thus it may well be that when fresh light is shed on the nature and origin of the Aten-cult it will be not, as might have been expected, from Tell el-Amarna itself but from Thebes.

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SETY I

BY PROFESSOR MARGARET MURRAY

FALLEN was Egypt, fallen from her high estate ; lost was her great empire, vanished her pomp and power, overwhelmed was her glory, and her splendour destroyed. The monarchs of Tell el Amarna, secure in the fame of Egypt, steeped themselves in luxury or dreamed their years away. The loyal friend was forgotten, the flatterer and time-server was placed in high position, the weak and helpless were trodden under foot, their cry rose up to Pharaoh, and Pharaoh heard it not. " Up, my heart," sang an Egyptian poet of an earlier period, " and bewail the land that gave thee birth. Perished is this country ; the sun is veiled and shines no more in the sight of men, for all good things have passed away. Men seize their weapons of battle, and the land is in an uproar. They fashion for themselves arrows of bronze, they crave for the bread of blood, their laugh is the laughter of pain. See how the son is an enemy, the brother a foe, and how a man slays his own father. All the possessions of a man are taken from him and given to another. How little is the corn and how large the corn-measure. I show thee the undermost uppermost." This was the condition of Egypt under the rule of Tell el-Amarna. What were the poor and the oppressed to Amenhotep III or to Akhenaten ? Let the taxes of the peasant be increased that Amenhotep might fulfil the lightest wish of his beautiful queen, or that Akhenaten might build a temple to his new god and give rich gifts to his sycophant courtiers. What did Akhenaten care that the loyal Ribaddi was abandoned to his fate ? A faithful friend and servant counted as nothing compared with a new hymn or a new ritual in the worship of the new deity. How beautiful it was to sing to the

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Aten at dawn :

“ The cattle all rest in their pastures,
Where grow the trees and herbs ;
The birds fly in their haunts,
Their wings adoring thy *ka*.
All the flocks leap upon their feet,
The small birds live when thou risest upon them.”

How delightful to chant sweet strains about the birds, and in the meanwhile Ribaddi, himself like a bird, but caught, alas ! in a snare, strained his weary eyes towards Egypt watching for the promised help which never came.

Under the great Thothmes III Syria had learned that Egypt's word was her bond ; under Akhenaten, Egypt became, in the words of Isaiah, a broken reed whereon, if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it. The allies and vassals of Egypt who “ strengthened themselves in the strength of Pharaoh and trusted in the shadow of Egypt,” were increasingly aware that “ the strength of Pharaoh was their shame, and their trust in the shadow of Egypt was their confusion.” But when the last of the decadent Tell el-Amarna stock had passed away, and the seals were set on the stone which enclosed him and his treasures in the rock-hewn tomb, there arose a Pharaoh who was also a Man. Horemheb set himself to the herculean task of bringing order again into Egypt ; he codified the laws and enforced them, punishing the law-breakers with a heavy hand, and meting out equal justice to rich and poor. Four short years only he sat on the throne of Egypt, and in that time he did all that mortal man could do to redeem the country from the disorders induced by more than half a century of misgovernment and neglect. At his death the thievish tax-collectors, the lawless soldiery, the corrupt judges, all hoped to come again to the happy times they had enjoyed under the Tell el-Amarna Pharaohs. Their hopes were dashed, for Horemheb was succeeded by Rameses I who carried on the work during the few months of his reign, and was himself succeeded by his son Sety I, one of the noblest of all the great and noble kings whom Egypt has seen.

SETY I

In Egypt history repeats itself with unfailing regularity, first, a period of chaos and anarchy, oppression, riots and internecine strife, out of which arises a ruler who suppresses the lawless elements with a strong hand and reduces the country to order, so that it begins to prosper. It is now a desirable possession, and foes gather on the borders to raid or invade. Then appears another great Pharaoh who leads his army to battle and secures peace for Egypt by inflicting severe defeats on the enemy, so breaking their power that for a generation at least they dare not attack again. This period of prosperity may continue for several generations under successive Pharaohs, as in the XIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties, but sooner or later the end comes, and with extraordinary rapidity Egypt falls again into chaos and anarchy till another strong ruler arises.

After the chaos of the Tell el-Amarna period, Horemheb and Rameses I brought in the rule of law and order. Egypt revived, and her neighbours on all sides began to cast covetous eyes in her direction. Under the son of Rameses I events followed in the regular order of succession, and Sety carried the arms of victorious Egypt northwards into Syria, southwards into Nubia, and westwards into Libya.

It was in the first year of his glorious reign that Sety I started on that career of conquest which was so necessary to preserve his own country. This first campaign was against Nubia, and was entirely successful as no further trouble ensued in the South during the rest of his reign. The next campaign was a purely defensive one to repel an invasion; this also was completely successful. "They who invade his border are gathered together and delivered into his hand."

To prevent another such invasion Sety, with his usual thoroughness, spent two years in preparation for a vigorous onslaught on Southern Syria, a country which was always a menace to the peace of Egypt. The desert-road runs across the north of the Sinai peninsula, caravans have passed that way from time immemorial, and for their use wells had been dug at intervals along the route.

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The Egyptians had to fight for the possession of the wells which were strongly fortified, and having seized them and driven off the marauding Bedaween the army was able to cross the hundred and sixty miles from Tharu (El Kantara) to Gaza. Syria had fallen into its usual condition when not under a strong-handed invader, each of her petty kings "cursing and quarrelling and slaying his neighbour." Steadily fighting his way, Sety passed through southern Syria, proceeded northward along the coast, and took the city of Tyre. The coast-towns were now in his hands ; this meant control of the hinterland, for he could at any time pour in Egyptian troops, bringing them by sea from Egypt. Having thus regained some of the lost provinces and imposed the *Pax Aegyptiaca* upon their warring kings, Sety returned in triumph to Egypt and presented the spoil, both in captives and treasure, to Amon at Thebes. Whether he actually slew the chiefs of the enemy as a sacrifice to the god, as Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord two centuries later, or whether the scene of slaughter is merely a conventional representation of a triumph, is uncertain. The description of Sety shows that he was a fierce fighter : "He rejoices to enter the fight, he loves to encounter the foe, blood is the joy of his heart ; rebellious of heart are his foes, their heads he lays low at his feet. An hour of battle to him is more than a day full of joy." Sety's sincere piety and desire to please God would probably have sanctioned human sacrifice, if it were the custom, though his natural goodness of heart must have protested against it. The priests of Amon were highly pleased at the riches showered upon them, and the grateful god gave him thanks in a metrical poem which the scribes had shamelessly plagiarised from earlier inscriptions.

The next campaign was against the Libyans, who invariably pushed into the western Delta at every opportunity, probably because of economic pressure in their own country. No details are given except that the invaders were driven out so precipitately and so terror-stricken that they took refuge in caves, "hiding like wolves."

In spite of his victories in Syria, or perhaps because of them,

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Sety found it necessary to return to that country. Here the Hittites encountered him, and for the first time they learned what it was to meet the redoubtable warrior-kings of Egypt ; for Sety trod the battlefield like Set, the god of war, after whom he was named. Victory favoured the Egyptian king, and the Hittites "tasted the taste of his fingers." By these continued efforts Sety recovered the lost provinces of Syria as far as the confines of Galilee, but his utmost endeavours could not bring the north of Syria again under the sway of Egypt. He had, however, made his power felt among the neighbouring countries, who did not venture to move against him during the rest of his reign. Egypt was now launched on another era of prosperity which came to an end more than a hundred years later with the death of Sety's grandson Merenptah.

Sety built the well-known temple of Qurneh as a memorial for his father Rameses I, and he laid the foundations of the Ramesseum which Rameses II finished for himself ; both on the western side of Thebes ; and he also built the beautiful Temple of the Kings at Abydos. He restored a great number of ruined shrines and sanctuaries, and obliterated as far as possible all signs of erasures of the name of Amon which Akhenaten had perpetrated. Wherever his restorations occur, he announces the fact by one modest little line of hieroglyphs, "King Sety I restored this monument."

The temple of Qurneh was begun as a memorial to Rameses I, but was continued by Rameses II as the memorial of Sety himself. It was approached by a long avenue of sphinxes, now destroyed ; and according to the inscriptions it was built of fine white sandstone ; the doors, which were high and wide, were of "real cedar" with wrought bronze. The temple of Amon at Karnak was enriched by the addition of the great hypostyle hall, one of the most dignified and imposing buildings of Egypt. Its long aisles, its vast size, its deep shadows, its darkness even at broad midday, all combine to impress upon the mind a feeling of mystery and awe. When it was filled with carven and gilded shrines and statues, with the twinkling of little star-like lamps, with the smoke of incense, with the sound of chants and prayers, with shaven white-robed priests moving softly

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among the vistas of its pillars, those who entered would feel that here indeed was the place where God himself might dwell. Even now in its lonely splendour, though foxes play in its stately aisles and bats wheel round its sculptured columns, it is still one of the noblest buildings ever raised by the hand of man to the glory of his Creator.

The temple at Abydos, which was also built by this sincere worshipper of the Divine, was for the commemoration of the long line of kings from whom Sety was descended, for to the Egyptian each king was in truth God incarnate. To those kings, the gods of long ago, in whom the Divine Spirit had once resided, this their latest descendant raised this exquisite shrine, for in him also the Spirit of God was indwelling. To Osiris, the Occupier of the Throne, the king living and the king dead, the temple was dedicated. Seven chapels stand in a line fronting the pillared halls, six for the worship of the gods, one for the worship of the living king. Of those six the largest is for Osiris, and through that shrine the tonsured initiates, clad in linen and bearing wands and ivy, passed into the inner hall to celebrate the "Mysteries of the mighty God, unconquered Osiris." On this temple Sety lavished great riches; for it, all the greatest artists were assembled to cover its walls with delicate sculpture, painted with an interweaving of tints and a wealth of colours which glow in the dim light like a rich mosaic; for it the gold mines of the eastern desert were re-opened; for it the quarries were kept in full work, and for it endowments of lands, slaves, and herds, were granted by the king.

Other temples also he built and endowed. At Wady Halfa is the inscription recording the gift to the temple of a daily food-offering, and the presentation of male and female slaves. The slaves were used as herdsmen or cultivators of the soil, and were thus a source of income to any temple to which they were presented. Sety's work at Heliopolis was destroyed at the destruction of that ancient fane, but a few inscribed pieces were carried away from the site and thus preserved. The obelisk now standing in the Piazza del Popolo in Rome was erected at Heliopolis by Sety, and is probably

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the only survivor of the many obelisks with which he filled that city. It was removed to Rome about B.C.20 by the Emperor Augustus, who was a great collector of antiquities. At the Speos Artemidos, there is a dedicatory inscription by Sety to the goddess of "the secret valley, the cleft of the cliff." Far south in Nubia there are remains of Sety's work in the great temple of Kalabsheh ; and still further south, even beyond Thothmes III's magnificent temple of Soleb, Sety built a temple at Sesebi, of which some columns still stand in silent and melancholy grandeur.

With so much building there are inevitably a great number of quarry inscriptions. Granite was needed for obelisks, fine limestone and sandstone for building, alabaster for smaller works. The granite quarry was at Aswan, where there is a barrier of igneous rocks which has furnished the greater part of the granite used in Egypt ever since the Egyptians first began to work in hard stone. At Gebelen and Silsileh were quarries for building-stone ; and the alabaster came from near Tell el-Amarna. There are many of these official semi-religious inscriptions of the time of Sety in the quarries. One of these, at Silsileh, shows the character of the king. A thousand soldiers had been sent to transport some statues of the gods from Silsileh to Thebes ; Sety increased the daily rations of these men to four pounds of bread, two bundles of vegetables, with a portion of fish and roast meat, and they were also allowed two linen garments monthly ; "thus they worked with loving heart for His Majesty." The officer in charge of the men had good bread, meat, fish, wine, olive oil, honey, figs and vegetables every day, but it was evidently beneath his dignity to appear grateful.

The re-opening of the gold-mines was recorded on the walls of a temple built in the eastern desert thirty-seven miles away from the Nile. Sety himself went to inspect the road which he knew had been closed because the wells had failed. He went at the hottest time of the year that he might know the worst ; he and his courtiers toiled up the barren rocks away from all signs of water, and the Pharaoh realised in his own person what must be the sufferings of men and animals in that waterless region. He inspected the whole

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district, looking for signs of water, praying to Amon to lead him to the right spot. His prayer was granted, and at the place which he indicated the workmen cut through the rock and found water. There Sety constructed a well and built a temple, and there also he founded a little town, all dedicated to the gods. Knowing how times may change and endowments be diverted from their original use, the king sought to prevent this and make it an exception to the general course of events. He called upon God to bless those who preserved the well and the temple and respected the endowment, and cursed with the curse of a flame of fire the violators of his ordinance. The well on the road to the mines was as a source of life to the miners, the caravans, and the escort of soldiers who protected them, and they called down blessings on the head of their Pharaoh, "Sety beloved of Ptah, the good Shepherd, who saves the lives of his people, who is the father and mother of all. He has opened the road which was closed. We proceed and are saved, we arrive and our lives are preserved. The difficult road remains only as a memory for it is now an easy road." A map of the gold-mines is still extant, made perhaps for Sety's own use ; and here also is a water-station and beside it a tablet with the name of Sety. This well was for the use of the miners for the mines are indicated on the opposite side of the valley ; it is again an instance of Sety's care for his people and the thoroughness of his methods. By means of the map he would know exactly the relative positions of the well and the mines, and thus could judge for himself of the conditions for the workmen.

The monument by which Sety is best known in modern times is his splendid tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. The entrance to this tomb was known only to the priests in charge of the Valley ; and in the XXth Dynasty, when tomb-robbers were daring and successful, it was used as a hiding-place for all those royal mummies whose own sepulchres were not secure from greedy and sacrilegious hands. The secret of the entrance must have been discovered, for the bodies, including that of Sety himself, were removed to the tomb of queen Anhapu ; that proving insecure,



*Head of the Bronze Statue of
Pepy I.*

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indicated the workmen cut through the rock and found water. There they constructed a well and built a temple, and there also he founded a little town, all dedicated to the gods. Knowing how times

second set to build
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they were carried to the tomb of Amenhotep I ; finally, in the XXIst Dynasty, the priest-kings placed them all in a deep pit close to the entrance to the Valley of the Kings' Tombs, and concealed the opening of the pit with such care and ingenuity that it was not discovered till 1881, nearly three thousand years later.

The tomb of Sety was discovered by Belzoni in 1815. The beautiful sarcophagus of translucent alabaster was still *in situ* ; it had been forcibly opened, probably in the XXIst Dynasty, by the simple process of smashing the lid to pieces. This was evidently the work of tomb-robbers, and was perhaps the reason why the mummies were so hurriedly removed to safer quarters. Sety's sarcophagus shows a definite change from the XVIIIth Dynasty type. All through that dynasty the sarcophagus is flat-topped and made of hard stone ; Tutankhamon and Horemheb had quartzite sandstone, sculptured at each corner with a goddess with outstretched winged arms. Sety's sarcophagus is of a soft stone, with a recumbent figure of the king on the top ; a goddess spreads her wings round the head of the figure. The main part of the sarcophagus is covered with scenes representing the journey of the sun-god through the other world. All these figures are incised and filled in with a bright blue paste ; the combination of the blue on a translucent creamy ground has a wonderful effect, and shows the delicate art of the period. The Egyptians had two versions of the journey of the sun through the *Duat* or Regions of Night ; one is represented on royal sarcophagi, the other on the walls of royal tombs. The adventures and perils of that dark voyage in the Solar Barque are more dramatic on the sarcophagi, and this version is known to modern scholars as the Book of Gates. The most dramatic scene is where the gods bind "the abominable Aapep," the serpent-enemy of Ra ; other gods struggle with five other serpents, apparently the brood of the great enemy, and bind them with the same chain ; a gigantic hand rises from the earth and seizes the chain in an irresistible grasp, holding all the serpents at once. The sense of security against the strength of evil given by this one incident, is very remarkable.

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The walls of the great tomb are covered with paintings representing the second and longer version of the Night Journey. Sety was the first to decorate his tomb and his sarcophagus with these scenes, and his example was followed by many of his successors. The Egyptian Pharaoh was, in his own opinion and in that of his subjects, the physical descendant of the Sun-god ; Son of Ra was one of his official titles, and the sun was always the special god of the king. Therefore on the walls of his tomb and on the sarcophagus, in which his body lay, were sculptured appropriately the dead Sun voyaging through the thick darkness of the other world till it emerged again on the warm and brilliant earth in the morning. The daily miracle of the sunrise gave to the sun-worshiping kings of Egypt a sure and certain hope of a joyful resurrection, and that hope and belief they showed forth in pictured scenes in their tombs. They followed the fortunes of their Lord and Creator from the moment when " he descended in majesty to the western horizon of heaven " and entered the portals of the other world at the Gap of Abydos. With him they went through the twelve gates of the Dark Region, through the twelve countries of the Night, past the pits of flame prepared for the wicked, protected throughout by the same deities who protected the dead Sun from the attacks of the abominable Aapep, until they returned again to the sunrise and the day. " For now the dead corpse of Ra is cast out of the Boat, as the husk is cast away when the grain is winnowed out, for the soul and the life of Ra are in the scarab of Khepera, and the transformations of Ra are completed. With shouting and singing, with joy and with gladness, the Boat of Ra passes out of the Duat."

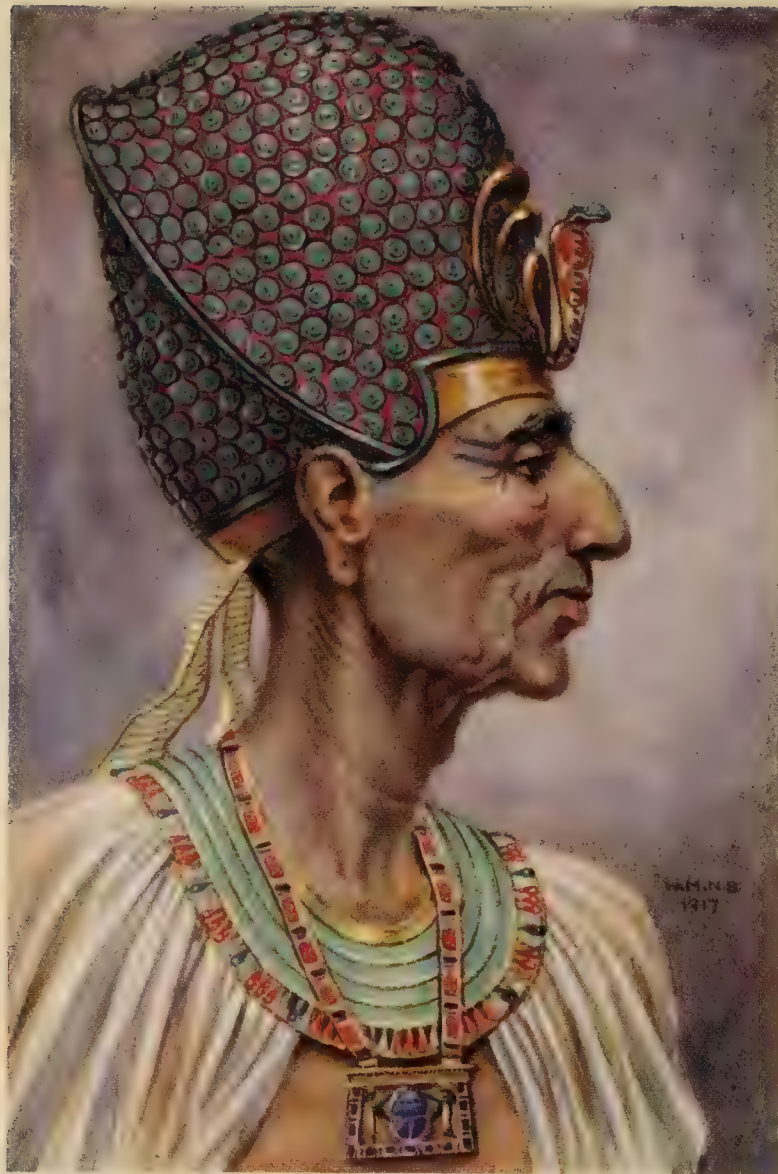
Thus to the end of his life Sety's sincere and unaffected piety is shown ; his belief in his God, his trust in the goodness of his Creator, were not blazoned forth, like Akhenaten's, in words and hymns, but by a very human kindness of heart and by a deep sense of responsibility towards those dependent on him, whom he felt he were bound to protect as he himself was protected by his God. In life and in death, therefore, he turned to Him who made him. This steady faith so moulded his character that it set its seal upon his

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features and has made his face the most beautiful of all the dead kings of Egypt, for death has merely fixed the natural expression. When we look upon this Pharaoh who died so long ago, we realise the affection that his subjects bore him, and we understand why it was they called him "The Good Shepherd."

M. A. MURRAY

RAMESES II





Rameses II.

RAMESES II

BY PROFESSOR MARGARET MURRAY

AT the beginning of the study of Egyptology, the name most frequently read on the monuments was that of Rameses II, who was therefore called "Rameses the Great" by those early decipherers. Later it was found that the name of Rameses II was often cut over the name of a predecessor; in other words, Rameses II had usurped the work, either building or sculpture, of an earlier king. This caused a revulsion of feeling against him among Egyptologists, and he became the best-abused man in Egyptian history. Now, however, with more information the historian is able to take a less biased view, and to pronounce a more balanced judgment on one of the most remarkable of the Egyptian Pharaohs.

Rameses II succeeded his father Sety I who had to a certain extent restored the ancient glory of Egypt. Rameses was about eighteen when he came to the throne; and, judging by the portraits which remain, he was extraordinarily handsome. His portrait at this age is on the walls of the Sety Temple at Abydos where he offers incense to his father in the scene of the apotheosis of the king. He was tall and slender, with regular features and an aquiline nose. A portrait of him at a later age is the basalt statue in the Turin Museum. In later life he "lost his looks," and in the thin emaciated face of the mummy the aquiline nose stands out prominently, dominating all the features.

On his accession to the throne, the youthful Rameses at once set to work to finish the buildings which Sety had left incomplete. It is very remarkable that in the great temple of Abydos the bas-reliefs of the time of Sety indicate a high degree of technical skill

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in the artists; the delicacy of line and the exquisite modelling are still a joy to all who see them. Yet Rameses, within a year of Sety's death, covered the yet undecorated walls of the temple with sculptures so crude and barbarous that Sety and his artists must have turned in their graves. At the same time there is no doubt that Rameses had a keen eye for the beautiful in art; and as the artists of his period, as of all other periods in the world's history, could not produce masterpieces to order, the king—or perhaps the artists themselves—adopted the easier method of ascribing to Rameses all great works of art of previous periods by the simple method of erasing the earlier king's name and substituting that of Rameses himself. This was not always done merely because the artists were inferior; for the intellect which conceived the idea of the great rock-temple of Abu Simbel and the skill which put that idea into execution, were as great as those of any other period; the Ramesseum is as fine and well-proportioned, as noble and dignified, as the temple of his predecessor; and the black basalt statute is, in attitude and expression, the embodiment of royal power; Rameses is represented as “every inch a king.”

One of the first acts of Rameses, when he came to the throne, was to go on tour through his kingdom. He went up the river to Abu Simbel, and came down when the inundation was rising, stopping at Thebes for the great summer festival of Amon, and then floating down on the swift current to Abydos. Here he raised Nebunnef, the high-priest of Denderah, to be high-priest of Amon, the highest priestly rank in the kingdom. Nebunnef's inscription gives, naturally enough, an enthusiastic account of the young king; but throughout his long life, Rameses seems to have had the gift of rousing enthusiasm. This may have been partly due to his personal beauty, “beautiful was he with the beauty of the Gods, in form like Horus, Avenger of his Father.” He was endowed with a reckless courage which endeared him to his soldiers, and with a certain regal quality which made his every act appear as the condescension of a god to a worshipper.

The main foreign incidents of his reign were his relations with

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the Hittites, warlike during his fiery youth and friendly towards the end of his life. He began his military campaigns in the second year of his reign, when he was about twenty. Sety had retrieved Egypt's lost provinces as far north as Galilee ; Rameses went further, as far as the Dog River, and on the rocks near that stream three inscriptions in his honour were sculptured. One of these is placed at the ford so that all those, whether friend or foe, who came southwards across the river were faced with the representation of the Egyptian Pharaoh offering thanks for victory to his own God. No more dramatic method of showing forth the might and power of Egypt could have been devised.

The Hittites had been gradually increasing in power for at least two centuries previously. Thothmes III had known them as " the great Khita " who sent him splendid gifts when he returned victorious from his campaigns in the Euphrates country, for they were anxious to propitiate the great conqueror who had " seized all lands in his grasp to the ends of the earth." In the troubled times at the end of the XVIIIth dynasty, the Hittites took advantage of Egypt's weakness, and captured the countries which Akhenaten's feeble hands could not hold. Sety had made a gallant attempt to restore the lost glory of Egypt and had come into sharp conflict with the Hittites, and had, for a time at any rate, held them in check or even driven them back. But when Rameses took the field, the Hittites had allied themselves with other powerful peoples and were steadily pushing southwards. Their advance began to threaten the few Syrian provinces which Egypt still held, and it became necessary for the Pharaoh to take stronger measures than a mere raid. Rameses then in the fifth year of his reign made his great attack on the most formidable of his enemies.

Though the coast towns were apparently held by the Egyptians, Rameses led his army by land through Tharu, northwards along the maritime plain to the Lebanon, which he crossed, then continued his northward course towards his main objective, the great Hittite stronghold of Kadesh. Even in the time of Thothmes III Kadesh had been a centre of opposition to Egypt, but now in the reign of

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Rameses it was the rallying point of a great confederacy of the enemy. The countries and peoples allied against Egypt were Carchemish, Arvad, Naharaina, Kodé, and various tribes of Asia Minor, but the moving spirit was the Hittite King. As the Egyptian poet says, "Not a country but sent to his aid their chieftains, their chariots, their troops; the multitude filled the whole land, covering the valleys and hills, like locusts they covered the ground. Silver and gold he had brought, plundering the land of its wealth, buying him soldiers to fight."

Against this formidable alliance Rameses marched his army. As he advanced northwards he passed through a country without any sign of the enemy, for the Hittite King was lying in ambush. It was a carefully prepared snare; the enemy were concealed to the northwest of Kadesh, so hidden behind the city as to be not only unseen but unsuspected. To make assurance doubly sure, the Hittite King sent out spies in the guise of simple peasants to give wrong information to the Egyptians and so lull them into a false security. The plan was successful beyond his wildest hopes. The Egyptian army was divided into four corps, or divisions, each called after the name of the principal god of the locality from which the division was recruited. Each division consisted of about 5,000 men, and was quite distinct from the other divisions. Thinking themselves secure they marched carelessly and some distance apart. Rameses surrounded by his bodyguard led the van, closely followed by the division of Amon, with the division of Ra nearly two miles in the rear. Behind these toiled the divisions of Ptah and Sutekh. Thus the army of Rameses was strung out in a long line across many miles of difficult country. At the ford across the Orontes Rameses encountered two of the Hittite King's simple peasants, who assured him with every appearance of truth that all they desired was to be the subjects of Egypt, that the enemy had retreated from Kadesh, that the Hittite King had gone to Aleppo where he was then "sitting" being afraid to come south for fear of the might of Pharaoh.

Rameses was completely deceived and went gaily forward to

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the northwest of Kadesh where he camped, the Hittite army moving round the opposite side of the city which completely masked their movements from the Egyptians. The unsuspecting Egyptians felt so secure that Rameses occupied his golden throne to receive the reports of his officers. To his great surprise two spies of the enemy were brought in, who confessed that all the information previously given was false, and that the Hittite King with his allies and confederates were at that moment behind "the deceitful city of Kadesh." Rameses burst out into bitter reproaches against the officers of his Intelligence Department, but he had the good sense to despatch the vizier at once to bring up the lagging divisions of the army. It was too late, however, to save the situation. The Hittite army had emerged from its ambush and had attacked the division of Ra at a critical moment just as the Egyptians were crossing the ford. Marching in fancied security the Egyptians were quite unprepared for a sudden attack and were completely routed. Rameses was still seated on his golden throne and still haranguing his officers on the enormity of their offence when the fugitives of the Ra division burst into the camp hotly pursued by the Hittite chariots. This disaster, falling like a thunderbolt in the midst of their fancied security, struck panic into the Amon division, who abandoned their king and their camp and fled. Rameses was left with only his immediate bodyguard, a mere handful to withstand the charge of the Hittite chariotry. The Hittite commander executed an enveloping movement and enclosed the Pharaoh and his little body of men in a hollow square of chariots. It was a desperate situation but Rameses rose to the occasion. With the eye of a general he saw that the enemy were least numerous to the east, and in that direction he charged in his chariot, the guards following their royal master. Though in the scenes sculptured on the temple walls he is shown with the reins tied to his waist in order to leave his hands free to wield his weapons, the authoritative account records that his faithful charioteer Menna was with him. The fiery courage of the Pharaoh in leading this forlorn hope had its effect on his guards, and their fierce onset

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drove the Hittites into the Orontes which flowed behind them. Horses and chariots were caught in the current and many of the Hittites were drowned. The prince of Aleppo had a narrow escape; he was dragged out half-dead by his own men, who restored him to life by the rough-and-ready method of holding him up by the heels that he might disgorge the water he had swallowed. By this sudden onslaught Rameses had been forced to abandon his camp; the sight of the golden throne and other rich plunder was too much for the pursuers, they leaped from their chariots and began to secure the booty. Here fortune favoured the Egyptian King, for unexpected reinforcements arrived from the coast on the west and fell upon the plundering Hittites with such fury that not a man escaped. The divisions of Amon and Ra had by now been rallied by their officers, and realising that the day was not yet lost they returned to the fight. The battle raged for more than three hours, all the reserves of the Hittite chariotry were called up to withstand the furious charges of the Egyptian soldiers led by their reckless young king. Even at the end of the three hours the result was still doubtful, but the sudden arrival of the vizier, who had brought up the division of Ptah in hot haste, turned the scale. The Ptah division took the enemy in the rear with such vigour that they broke and fled, and Rameses was left master of the field.

Though there is no doubt that it was a dashing exploit on the part of Rameses, it was no finer than the exploits of other Pharaohs, and it would probably have been no better known but for the poem of an unknown writer. This poem was one of the great epics of Egyptian literature, and was copied on the walls of all the temples of Rameses, illustrated with scenes from the battle.

Rameses retreated without taking Kadesh, and for years afterwards he continued his campaigns in Syria reaching as far as the country of Naharaina. In the twenty-first year of his reign, both sides seem to have grown tired of fighting, and the Egyptians made a treaty of peace with their ancient foes, the Hittites. The terms of the treaty are still extant, and show that both parties were considered on an equal footing, for each condition of the treaty

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applies equally to both. The extradition clauses are peculiarly interesting, and all the gods of Egypt and of the Hittites are called as witnesses of the treaty.

Fourteen years later, when he was fifty-three, Rameses married the daughter of the Hittite King. The Hittite princess came with a great retinue; the Hittite King and his ancient allies escorted her in person, with foot soldiers and horse-soldiers. Rameses, who seems to have claimed power over storms and rain, made sacrifices to ensure good weather on their journey, and putting himself at the head of his courtiers and army went forth to receive his bride. The princess headed the procession of her own people, and was at once received by the Pharaoh. A great feast was made, and the soldiers of both countries ate and drank together in great amity. It was probably the visit of the Hittites which inspired another Egyptian poet to write the following verse, which is supposed to be the utterance of the Hittite King.

“Come unto Egypt, O chieftain of Kôdé!
Pharaoh commands and all must obey.
Life he bestows, as he wills, to each country,
Kheta lies now in his power alone.
Pray that he send soon the rain upon Kheta,
None can fall there except by his will.”

Egypt seems to have enjoyed much prosperity during the greater part of Rameses' reign. It is possible to gauge the prosperity of Egypt at any given period by the number and size of the temples, statues, and other works which remain; for it is obvious that when the struggle for life is hard, there is no time or inclination for Art. But under Rameses the temples which he raised or ornamented are very numerous; statues of him are found in every part of Egypt, his inscriptions are sculptured in every temple, and his scarabs are more numerous than those of any other king except Thothmes III. It is perhaps because of this material prosperity that traditions of his reign lasted for many centuries.

Of the inscriptions recounting events which took place in Egypt, the most interesting perhaps is the account of the digging

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of a well on the road across the desert at the modern village of Kubban. Sety had tried to make a water-station on this arid road, but without the success which had attended his efforts near Redesiyeh. Rameses, however, was always ready to try his hand where others had failed, and with the sublime self-confidence which characterises all his inscriptions he announces his success. There is a vivid description of Rameses, robed and crowned, sitting on his golden throne alone in his great hall of audience, cogitating on the deadly nature of the road across the waterless desert and the sufferings of the travellers, and devising means to ameliorate the conditions. Having decided in his own mind what should be done, his courtiers were summoned and he announced his plans. The Viceroy of Nubia, who knew the country, ventured on a remonstrance, but was overruled; and Rameses, who was not wanting in a certain grim sense of humour, appointed the viceroy to see that the plans were carried out. According to the inscription, a good supply of water was found at a depth of about eighteen feet, and Rameses was proportionately elated at the success of his scheme. But it is impossible to help speculating as to whether the Viceroy of Nubia, who was probably a blood-relation of the Pharaoh, might not also have been endowed with a sense of humour, and have sent a report to please the monarch while setting up the the inscription over a dry and empty well.

Rameses was apparently a generous patron of the gods. He founded temples on all the principal sacred sites, and many of the inferior ones as well. He restored, added to, or decorated all the temples in existence in his time. As the priests were also the chroniclers, his generosity to the temples may account for records and traditions of his reign being preserved. At Thebes he not only built the Ramesseum and finished the decoration of Sety's Temple at Qurneh, but his work is found in the temples of Amon at Luxor and Karnak as well. At Abydos he built a temple of his own, decorated the unfinished portions of Sety's Temple, and added to the Temple of Osiris. At Memphis he built or re-built much of the Temple of Ptah, for whom he had a particular affection,

Head of the M
Rameses I

Head of the Mummy of
Rameses II.

THE HISTORY OF THE EMPIRE OF THE EAST INDIES

The first part of the book is a general history of the East Indies, from the earliest times to the present. It is divided into three parts: the first part is a general history of the East Indies, from the earliest times to the present; the second part is a history of the East Indies, from the earliest times to the present; and the third part is a history of the East Indies, from the earliest times to the present. The first part is a general history of the East Indies, from the earliest times to the present; the second part is a history of the East Indies, from the earliest times to the present; and the third part is a history of the East Indies, from the earliest times to the present.

The second part of the book is a general history of the East Indies, from the earliest times to the present. It is divided into three parts: the first part is a general history of the East Indies, from the earliest times to the present; the second part is a history of the East Indies, from the earliest times to the present; and the third part is a history of the East Indies, from the earliest times to the present. The first part is a general history of the East Indies, from the earliest times to the present; the second part is a history of the East Indies, from the earliest times to the present; and the third part is a history of the East Indies, from the earliest times to the present.

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for he appears to have thought himself markedly favoured by that god. He call the son, who afterwards succeeded him, Mery-en-Ptah, "Beloved of Ptah."

By comparison of dates and by other evidence Rameses II is considered by many people to be the Pharaoh of the Oppression, whose daughter saved and brought up Moses. There is however no reference in any of his inscriptions to the Israelites, who were probably not distinguished in the royal mind from any other foreigners settled in the Delta.

Rameses reigned 67 years, and must therefore have been upwards of 85 years of age when he died. He is known to have had seven queens of whom his best-beloved was Nefertari-mery-Mut, and the names of seventy-nine sons and thirty-one daughters have been preserved.

In spite of the brilliant promise of his youth, his reign was singularly uneventful. As he grew older the egotism, which is visible even in his early records, became more and more pronounced till it reached colossal proportions. His own heroism at Kadesh was marvellous in his eyes, and therefore of course in the eyes of his courtiers; and he was never tired of reproducing the history and scenes of his one great exploit. He was so filled with the sense of his own importance as the Pharaoh, the incarnate God, that in the Temple of Abu Simbel he is shown worshipping his own divinity. It was probably this magnificent egotism, this overwhelming self-appreciation, combined with the splendour of his court, which so impressed his personality on his own age and made him remembered for generations when other and far nobler Pharaohs were forgotten. His power and his riches dazzled the eyes of his people, and made the chroniclers forget that there was no event of paramount importance in his reign, no splendid or noble work done for his country. He is, like Solomon, the impersonation of the splendour and glory of regal power.

M. A. MURRAY

RAMESES III



Rameses III.

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RAMESES III

BY PROFESSOR MARGARET MURRAY

THE XIXth Dynasty followed the same course as the XVIIIth ; first, there came great kings, who raised Egypt to power ; then followed a period of internal dissensions with consequent chaos ; and lastly, at the end of the dynasty there was the sudden rise of a great organising genius. The strong man who came to the throne at the end of the XIXth Dynasty was Setnekht, the father of Rameses III. Though he reigned only one year he had, by the time of his death, already done much towards reducing the country to order.

The weakness of Egypt is always an invitation to her enemies to descend upon her, either as raiders or as settlers ; if there should arise in Egypt a strong ruler, the danger may be averted, but if a weak hand is at the helm, or if the country is torn with internal dissensions, the invaders enter, and seize and hold the land. Though these invasions appear to have been of benefit to Egypt and to have brought her prosperity, the strong Nationalist feeling of the people always resented foreign rule, unless the rulers could prove Egyptian descent, either truly or, as in the case of Alexander the Great, by a fiction.

Rameses III came to the throne in one of those crises of weakness through which Egypt passes periodically. Setnekht's life was too short for more than the beginning of re-organisation, but the foundations of that re-organisation were so well and truly laid that Rameses had merely to continue on the same lines in order to bring his country again into a prosperous condition.

It is a noticeable fact in the annals of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties that the great battles took place in the fifth year of the

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conqueror's reign. Rameses II made his first expedition into Syria in his fifth year, it was a fine exploit but overshadowed by the glory of the later campaign against Kadesh ; Merenptah routed the Libyan invaders and drove them out of Egypt in his fifth year ; and Rameses III in his turn expelled the invaders of the Delta in his fifth year. This may be merely a coincidence, for in the XVIIIth Dynasty, Thothmes I and Thothmes III did not wait for their fifth years, but marched to victory, the former in the second year of his reign, the latter with characteristic impetuosity in the first year. On the other hand it is quite possible that there may have been in the minds of the people some special virtue attached to the fifth year of a king's reign, which would give to both king and army a strong feeling of confidence in victory.

In his fifth year, then, Rameses III made war on the Libyans and Meshwesh, driving them out of Egypt and capturing numbers of men, women, and cattle. The human captives were enslaved, and the cattle were presented to the temples of Amon at Thebes. Egypt was now free from foreigners within her borders, but the fertile Nile Valley was always a coveted possession in ancient times. A coalition of peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean had been formed, which threatened every country of that region. The Hittites, always ready for fighting, were well to the fore, and with them were their ancient allies from Kodé, Carchemish, and Arvad. They were also allied with the coast and island tribes of the Eastern Mediterranean, and were wasting with fire and sword the lands of all who opposed them. Naturally they looked with covetous eyes at the rich and prosperous country of Egypt, and before long they determined on an attack. "They came with fire prepared, forward to Egypt, their hearts were confident, full of their plans,." Though they might be confident, they were advancing against a general who was equally confident of success. His trust was in the Lord his God, who had taught his hands to war and his fingers to fight. "Through God I was prepared and armed to trap them like wild-fowl ; he furnished my strength and made my plans to prosper." Rameses saw that the real danger lay in an invasion from the sea

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and that a naval battle was imminent. He fortified all the mouths of the Nile and the sea-harbours with a strong force of warships, galleys, and barges. "They were manned completely from stem to stern with courageous warriors bearing their weapons, the choicest warriors of the whole of Egypt, like lions roaring on the mountain tops." The army, with the Pharaoh to lead them, were drawn up on the shore to repel the invaders should the naval battle result in a defeat for the Egyptians. "His infantry were like bulls, ready for battle, his horses were like hawks in the midst of birds."

Rameses appears to have laid an ambush at one of the harbours ; the enemy fleet, thinking the place unprotected, entered stealthily, discovered their mistake too late and were utterly destroyed. "By the King was made ready the net, and a snare which was hid from their eyes ; to the harbour they entered by stealth, they were caught in the net and the snare. In the waves were their vessels capsized, to the darkness their souls fled away, in the water their weapons were cast." The king himself "went forth like a storm-wind, fighting on the sea-shore like a hero. He was like an enraged lion, tearing his enemy ; fighting at close quarters on his right, valiant on his left, like Sutekh ; destroying the enemy, like Amon-Ra. He flourished like a hawk among birds, his talons descended on their heads." Both by sea and land the rout of the enemy was utter and complete. Egypt was saved for the time, and the invaders had been taught a sharp lesson.

Rameses, with a sincere piety unexpected in a man of his ferocious and lascivious character, ascribed all his success to the God whom he worshipped. "Great is thy might, O Lord God, and thy words come to pass without fail. Thy strength is behind me as a shield that I may slay those who invade my borders ; for thou hast put the terror of me in their hearts and the dread of me within them. Thy strength is in front of me, for thou hast destroyed their seed by thy might, O Lord God. Let thy hand be with me to slay the invaders and to ward off every enemy."

But the temptation of so rich a country as Egypt was too great for the confederates to resist, and once again the allies made a

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determined attempt at invasion. They had waited three years to recruit their shattered forces, and in the hope that the Egyptians might relax their vigilance and be caught unawares. The invaders actually entered Egypt, coming in from the west, crossed the Delta and reached nearly to Heliopolis. Rameses had chosen his position for the decisive battle deliberately and well, and led his army to victory. The rout of the invaders was complete, and Rameses continued the pursuit across the border into the enemy's country. Few of the invaders escaped, for more than two thousand were killed, and about the same number captured, among whom were six chiefs of the enemy. The number of women and girls who were also taken suggests that this invasion, as in the invasion by the same people under Merenptah, was not a mere raid for plunder, but was undertaken with the intention of holding the country and settling there. "I turned them back from trampling my border," says Rameses. "I carried captive those whom my sword spared, pinioned like birds in front of my horses ; I seized their women and children by the ten-thousand, and their cattle by the hundred-thousand. In my fortresses I placed the captains of archers, the chiefs of the tribes, branded with my name and enslaved, their women and children likewise. I placed their cattle in the temple of Amon to be for him herds for ever." Then again he ascribes the victory to God. "Thou hast granted to me to make my boundary as far as I desire. My arm is not repulsed ; all lands praise my power for I am strongly armed by the might of thy sword, O my father."

Having brought this campaign to a satisfactory end, Rameses pursued the usual policy of his predecessors by raiding Syria, thereby breaking the power of its kings. He followed up this success by waging war against Nubia which he conquered. Thus Egypt had nothing more to fear for at least a generation from either the north or the south ; and as the Libyan power was already crushed she was secure from all invasion and had time to develop her own resources in peace. The raid into Syria is an important dating point in Jewish records. It was an extensive and successful raid, for the Egyptians returned with rich plunder, gold, silver,

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lapis lazuli, turquoise, and every kind of precious stone. As there is no mention of this raid in the Biblical history, it must have taken place before the invasion of the Israelites. The leaders of Israel seem to have seized the psychological moment to enter the Promised Land when the fighting power of the native kings had been broken by Egypt, thus leaving the land defenceless against a new invader. The dates for this suggestion agree very well, for the Syrian raid must have been between 1190 and 1180 B.C. which is the approximate date of the Israelite conquest.

Though Rameses III was a great general and raised Egypt to a high place as a world power, it was not in time to arrest completely the process of decay which had set in towards the end of the XIXth Dynasty. It is interesting to speculate on what might have happened if the fortune of war had turned in the other direction at the Battle of the Harbours. Seeing how foreign invasions and the infusion of new blood had always lifted Egypt out of the condition of weakness into which she invariably drifted when left to herself, it is possible that an invasion of these hardy sea-faring rovers might have saved her from the depths into which she sank during the remainder of the XXth Dynasty, and throughout the XXIst.

The great monument which Rameses III raised, and on the walls of which he recorded all the historical events of his reign, was the temple now known as the temple of Medinet Habu. The building, which was probably begun on his accession, was finished in twelve years ; it was dedicated to the chief god of Thebes, Amon, and was richly endowed by the king. " Says King Rameses, ruler of Heliopolis, to his father Amon-Ra, Take thou gold and silver like the sand of the sea-shore . . . I bring to thee silver and gold, copper, royal linen, and the perfumes of Punt. . . . I bring to thee every precious costly stone, silver and gold in sacks ; and I cause thy treasury to overflow, and provisions to flood thy house." Besides this mass of treasure, there are pictures of piles of gold and silver, lapis lazuli and turquoise. The description of the temple in the Great Harris Papyrus, gives a vivid idea of the wealth lavished on both the building and the endowment. It was " built of sand-

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stone, gritstone, and black granite ; the doors of electrum and copper in beaten work. Its towers were of stone, rising to the sky, ornamented and carved with the sculptor's tool. I built a wall all round it, with ramps and towers of sandstone. I dug a lake in front of it, planted with trees and plants like the Delta. I filled its treasury with the produce of the lands of Egypt, gold and silver, and all precious stones by the hundred-thousand. Its granary overflows with wheat and barley ; the multitudes of its lands and herds were like the sand of the sea-shore. I fashioned thy great statue and made for it altar-vessels of fine gold. I increased the offerings presented before thee. I made for thee a splendid royal palace like the great house of Atum in heaven. The columns, door-posts and doors were of electrum, and the balcony was of fine gold. It was surrounded with gardens and arbours, filled with fruit and flowers." Though the masonry of the temple remains, all the woodwork and metal have disappeared, but the descriptions of the richness of the ornamentation show that the wealth of the country was being swallowed up by the temples of the country in general, and of the god Amon in particular.

The temple-calendar of the religious festivals is interesting as there seems to have been a marked difference between the popular and the temple festivals. The eight moon-feasts, the anniversary of the king's coronation, the festival of the Rising of the Dog-Star, the Day of High Nile, and a few other seasonal feasts, were observed by the populace. But the temple-list of Rameses III extends only over five months of the year—the rest of the inscription having been destroyed—and yet in that time forty-five annual festivals are recorded, exclusive of the eight moon-feasts. It is evident that the greater number of these could have been only ecclesiastical festivals, on which services were held in the temple, for the proportion of forty-five holidays out of 150 days is too large for practical purposes.

The judicial record of a great conspiracy in the royal harem throws an interesting, if lurid, light on the private history of the period. Rameses had a large harem, probably recruited to a great extent from his foreign captives. In the sculptures of the Pavilion

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at Medinet Habu he is seen among the lovely ladies who ministered to his pleasures. The harem seems to have been strictly guarded, and was therefore and as might be expected, full of intrigue. A plot was organised by one of the queens, named Ty, to kill Rameses and place her son Pentawere on the throne. The conspirators obtained a volume of magical spells and proceeded to make wax images of the king in order to destroy him. This time-honoured method having failed, other means were used, probably a murderous attack, or perhaps poison, either of which was sufficiently easy as most of the conspirators were the king's personal servants or attached to the harem in some official capacity. There are indications also that a popular revolt was incited, possibly with the intention of making it appear that the king had been killed in the riots. The plot, however, was betrayed, and all the evidence came into the hands of the intended victim. Rameses was now an old man, and was nearing his end, perhaps as the result of the attempt on his life or from the shock of discovering the treachery of those so near his person. He ordered the trial and appointed the judges, but before the proceedings began he was dead. The conspirators had desired his death and had obtained their desire ; but Rameses, though realising their triumph, had too fine a sense of justice to permit his personal feelings to sway him. He gave instructions to the judges on their appointment that they should make certain of the guilt of the accused before passing sentence, and the actual punishment of the guilty was left to the discretion of the judges. Two of their number, however, were unworthy of their high position ; they, with two officers who were in charge of the prisoners, were suborned by the conspirators and met them at a friendly wine-party. The four and another judge, named Hori, who was accused of the same offence, had to stand their trial at once; Hori was found innocent, but the other four were proved guilty. It was not a capital crime, but bordered so nearly on what we should now call High Treason that the punishment was severe ; the offenders were sentenced to mutilation by loss of their noses and ears. One of the guilty men committed suicide after the sentence

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had been carried out. This was the last of the prosecutions ; is was preceded by three others in which the conspirators themselves were tried, the capital charges being apparently taken first.

In the first trial the court consisted of six judges to try twenty-two persons, sixteen men and six women ; eight of the men being officials of the royal harem. Two of the leaders of the conspiracy were tried on this occasion ; both were so deeply involved and of such high rank that their real names are concealed under opprobrious epithets. All the accused were found guilty, but the sentence is so worded that it is uncertain what the punishment was. In the case of the chief conspirator, the record says, " His crimes seized him ; the nobles who examined him brought his punishment upon him." The rest of the accused were condemned with the same formula, " They (the judges) found him guilty, they brought his punishment upon him." This probably means a death-sentence, possibly by the hands of the public executioner. The second prosecution was of six male conspirators, all of high rank and deeply involved. They were found guilty, and the court " left them in their own hands in the hall of examination ; they took their own lives ; and no punishment was executed upon them." In the third prosecution the judges consisted of five men of the highest rank, for the young prince, the nominal head of the conspiracy, was brought to trial. He was tried under a false name in order to conceal his identity ; three fellow-conspirators were tried with him. After each name the verdict and the result are stated. Each of the four was found guilty, the court " left him in his place, he took his own life." The trial of the queen, if it ever took place, was conducted in the strictest secrecy as was the case with similar trials throughout the history of Egypt. The records show that queens were liable to legal, probably criminal, proceedings, but in every instance only the fact of such a trial survives and not the details.

When Rameses III died, there was written for him a full account of all that he had done upon earth for his country and his gods. This extraordinary document was probably intended to be shown to God on the Judgment Day in order to ensure its owner's



*Head of the Mummy of
Rameses III.*

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people. The monument was probably intended to be placed in the temple of the god Amun at Thebes on the Day in order to ensure its owner's

to present the king to his

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entry to the realms of bliss. It was evidently made immediately after the king's death, to be buried with him. The seventy-two days which elapsed between the death of Rameses III and the coronation of Rameses IV afforded sufficient time for the manuscript to be written. These seventy-two days are the time required for the embalming and burial. Seventy days were needed for the mummification and wrapping, during which time the family and the hired mourners performed their lamentations. Even as early as the period of Joseph the same length of time was required ; for the mourning for Jacob lasted seventy days before the funeral procession set out on its toilsome journey to Syria to bury the body of the patriarch in the ancestral tomb. Seventy days, then, were spent in preparing the corpse of Rameses III for burial, and two days were allotted to the funeral ceremonies ; when the door of the tomb was finally closed and sealed, the thoughts of the nation in general and of the court in particular turned with relief to the joyous ceremonies of his successor's coronation.

Here then we leave the last of the great Pharaohs of Egypt. To him it had been given to experience all that the world had to offer of good and evil, of pleasure and pain ; he had weighed them in the balance, and found them wanting. He had tasted the joy of battle and the lust of slaughter ; he had conquered his enemies and saved his country ; he had gained great wealth and had given to the gods all that their grasping priesthoods had demanded ; he had enjoyed all the pleasures of the flesh, and had been betrayed by those he held most dear. Success, wealth, love, pleasure, all were as Dead Sea apples in his mouth ; yet even to the end he kept a greatness of mind, a nobleness of outlook, which compelled him to demand that justice and not vengeance should be bestowed on his betrayers and murderers. Ruthless and sincere, cynical and just, resolute for good or for evil, Rameses III towers above his contemporaries and successors as the Colossi of Thebes tower above the plain. With him vanished the glory of Egypt. Under weak kings and a greedy priesthood Egypt sank to the lowest depths of barbarism, superstition and poverty, and became the prey in turn of

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Ethiopians, Assyrians, Greeks, Persians, and Macedonians, until finally she was seized by the mighty hand of all-conquering Rome. When Rameses III was laid in his tomb the splendour of Egypt had passed away.

M. A. MURRAY

PHYSIOGNOMY AS HISTORICAL
MATERIAL

PHYSIOGNOMY AS HISTORICAL MATERIAL

BY WINIFRED BRUNTON

A PORTRAIT-PAINTER falls naturally into the habit of searching the faces of his sitters for indications of character. The painting of a portrait is in fact a hunt for the personality hidden or expressed by the features. The artist ponders on the faces of those best known to him, comparing them with those of mere acquaintances, and trying to account for likenesses of form by similarities in character. No one who long continues this sort of study can fail to conclude that, broadly speaking, there *is* something in the outward aspect which reflects the inner personality—that the face, the whole figure, balance and movements of a human being, are a true indication of the soul and mind—if we only could read the signs well enough.

But it is a big *if*. Can we ever learn enough of the signs to read them certainly? There are so many factors to take into consideration. It is not enough to say, "He has a broad brow and shrewd eyes—he must be intelligent"; or "he has a square jaw and a firm mouth—he must have a strong will." This is the merest alphabet—the letters, which properly put together, should make words, even sentences. It is not a question of one or two features only, but of the proportions and balance of a face, to say nothing of the hands (often more expressive than the face), the voice, the hair, the bearing, the feet, and so on. And in considering these, one must be careful not to lay undue stress on mere "family" features, but to take into consideration accidental effects on the carriage, hair and feet particularly.

The alphabet, then, seems endless, the factors infinite in number, and the attempt vain for one student in one lifetime to grasp

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sufficient to form reliable conclusions. Hopeless perhaps, but how interesting to go on trying ! And so I did. And presently it did really seem as if I could depend upon a particular set or combination of features to mean a certain streak of character—even more, upon a certain smile meaning a special generosity—a particular nose invariably implying a greedy nature, a special kind of eyelid indicating caution or nervousness—always provided no other feature or features definitely gave contrary evidence.

And then I went to Egypt, and my study was led into a path which seems hitherto unexplored.

In 1911, on visiting the Museum of Antiquities in Cairo, I had my first sight of the royal mummies. All who have seen them know how especially striking are the two kings Sety I and Rameses II. As I hung over the cases enclosing them, the thought crossed my mind, "How delightful it would be to make these stately ancients sit, in their actual flesh, for their modern portraits !"

Though at first a casual impulse, the idea stayed and grew. I began to form mental pictures of ancient royalty in its brilliant regalia and robes of white linen—to study the methods of mummification so as to understand the changes it involves in the outward aspect of the body. If one could realise the behaviour of the features under the operation, would it not be possible to reverse the process in imagination, and reconstruct the living subject ? Then how enthralling to indicate on the restored features, the character and temperament of the man, so far as known to us through history ! How did these quiet dead faces bear out what we know ? And in what did they amplify or contradict tradition ?

To make a serious study of these royal dead, I must be guided by the mummies principally but not exclusively. I turned to the statues and reliefs. These would show me how the sitters impressed the artists of those days, and the work of an artist's chisel or brush is at least as good evidence as the sworn word of a witness in a court of law, at any rate when the artist is as literal-minded as were the Egyptians. Do we not know the honest mistakes a man in the

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witness-box can make? And shall we not concede the difference between a trained and an untrained observer? The ancient artist was a trained observer; I would examine his evidence on what he saw, and compare it with what I could see to-day of the Pharaohs. This done, discrepancies appeared which could not be disregarded. And besides, the various artists who portrayed a Pharaoh did not all agree in detail among themselves. This added to the difficulty! It was evident that some detailed and perhaps laborious comparing would have to be done. I had recourse again to the mummy, and took the face carefully back through the process of mummification. Certain confirmations appeared of the artists' evidence; these I accepted and retained, especially if they seemed to me to agree with the king's known character. Discrepancies on the other hand could be partly accounted for by the changes in the subject between youth and old age, and partly by the deference due to kings.

Finally I did construct a firm scaffolding on which to build my portrait, and so the picture of Sety I was begun.

The costume was a simpler problem. One had only to consult the monuments and the jewel-room of the Museum, and to be careful to avoid howlers such as a dinner-party *parure* with a field-service helmet, and so on. Rameses II was next attempted, and I was greatly cheered by the recognition of my rescussitated kings by several eminent archæologists. Not all the Egyptologists who recognised my portraits realised the method in my madness, the slow sifting of evidence and the laborious brick-making. To many they seemed flights of a fancy only slightly, if at all, controlled by research. But one of the most famous of them all, namely Professor Breasted, gave me enormous encouragement. Whatever was to be thought of these particular portraits, he admitted that this was a line of research not hitherto tried, but perfectly legitimate and which might conceivably yield valuable results. His kind words so stimulated me that I made similar attempts with other defunct royalties, and gradually completed the series of kings and queens which appear in these pages.

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The portrait of Rameses II followed that of Sety I. It was an easier task, as there are so many statues of the later king to consult. The only surprise, as I worked at it, was the unexpected look of humour that developed ; a quality one would hardly have suspected in Rameses II.

The mummies of comparatively few of the great kings are well enough preserved to afford clear information. Among them however is that of Rameses III, whose dead face is a curious and interesting, though rather repulsive study. There is a look of hate, rage and disappointment. Can it be that the events of the close of his life so stamped their traces upon his features as to obscure the look of sagacity that so able a ruler must surely have possessed ? He certainly lacks the air of nobility noticeable in many of the great rulers of Egypt.

Not all the portraits in this book are of equal historical value. In the case of Khafra I had only the famous diorite statue in Cairo and the exquisite fragment now in Copenhagen, as reliable guides. For this reason I did not feel justified in giving this king my usual realistic treatment. He is such a vague personage that all I could indicate was a vision, man or statue, one hardly knows which, looming out of the distant past.*

Amenemhat III's portrait was a fairly straightforward piece of work. It was only necessary to take all the authentic statues of this king, and by eliminating the differences and retaining the similarities, it was possible to get a fairly definite result. But the expression remains a puzzling one. Why that tragic look ? It was surely due to more than the ordinary cares of state, heavy though these may have been. Here is a face with history written on it, but alas ! we cannot read the script other than vaguely. As for his complexion, darker than most of the others, that is more or less surmise. It is considered by some Egyptologists that the very individual family type of the XIIth Dynasty was due to southern blood.

*It was found impossible to reproduce the subtle colouring of the original picture, and the portrait is therefore shown in monotone.



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Kings and Queens of ancient
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